GARDNER-WEBB REVIEW

edited by
Christopher V. Davis
and
Nancy Bottoms

Gardner-Webb Review

Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship
Volume VII
2014

Gardner-Webb University
Boiling Springs, North Carolina

edited by
Christopher V. Davis
and
Nancy Bottoms

Editors

Christopher V. Davis
Department of English Language and Literature

Nancy Bottoms
School of Performing and Visual Arts and
Department of English Language and Literature

Faculty Mentors

Kent Blevins
Department of Religious Studies and Philosophy

Jeff Hartman
School of Preventive and Rehabilitative Health Sciences

Joseph Moore
Department of Social Sciences

James Morgan
School of Psychology and Counseling

Paula Qualls
Department of Religious Studies and Philosophy

David Yelton
Department of Social Sciences

CONTENTS

A Study of the Natural Resource and Raw Material Requirements for Nazi Germany's Four Year Plan

Steven Kern

The Four Year Plan was developed out of Hitler's desires to achieve German economic self-sufficiency in order to accomplish his is ideological goal of the German conquest of *lebensraum*. The Plan was supposed to run from 1936 to 1939, and it was organized and led by Hermann Goering. Goering was given the responsibility of developing the domestic production of natural resources and raw materials in order to make Germany economically self-sustaining and to prepare the German military for war in four years. The Four Year Plan was unable to satisfy the natural resource requirements of the German war economy because there was a lack of rational economic planning that led to an overestimation of the Germany's capability to satisfy its natural resource needs through domestic production.

In 1936, Adolf Hitler issued a memorandum in August that served as an economic policy statement for the Nazi government. This memorandum is known as the "Four Year Plan Memorandum" and in it Hitler laid out the economic measures that he believed could best prepare Germany for war. In the memorandum, Hitler's ideology plays a large role in the economic policies he supported. He restates his opinions in *Mein Kampf* that "the final solution lies in extending our living space," and that a Bolshevik and Jewish victory over Germany would lead to the total destruction of the German people.[1] Any economic policy that came from Hitler was subordinate to his ideology.[2] Hitler states that economic policy and leaders are all part of "the struggle for the self-assertion of our nation."[3] This idea provides the context for Hitler's economic policies and why he would attempt to prepare for a war despite Germany possibly not having the economic strength to carry it out. In the memorandum, Hitler states,

---

[1] Max Domarus, *The Complete Hitler: a Digital Desktop Reference to His Speeches and Proclamations, 1932-1945*, CD-Rom ed. (Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2007), 4.

[2] Adam Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction: the Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy*, 1st ed. (New York: Viking Adult, 2007), 220.

[3] Domarus, 3.

It is, however, wholly pointless to keep on noting these facts, i.e., stating that we lack foodstuffs or raw materials; what is decisive is to take those measures which can bring about a *final* solution for the *future* and a *temporary* easing for the *transitional period*."[4]

That statement shows that Hitler's ideology was present in his theories on economic policy and that it could lead to policies focused less on realistic, practical economic goals and more on accomplishing grand ideological goals.

In Hitler's 1936 memo, he lays out an economic policy that is based upon Germany increasing its efforts to replace imported raw materials with domestic ones. The three most important areas of German natural resource requirements were petroleum, iron ore, and rubber. Hitler stated that it was private industry's job to come up with the methods of production to satisfy Germany's raw material needs.[5] In the memo, Hitler stated that domestic production of synthetic fuel and rubber, along with the harvesting of German iron ore reserves, are necessary for Germany to become economically self-sufficient and have the ability to rearm itself.[6]

It is obvious that Hitler's economic goals of increased domestic production are a result of World War I and its aftermath. Hitler knew that domestic production of natural resources and national self-sufficiency were a solution for how to circumvent a naval blockade of German shipping. Also, as part of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany had to surrender iron ore fields in Alsace-Lorraine to France. By exploiting German iron ore deposits in central Germany and the Ruhr region, Hitler could mitigate the loss of production resulting from the treaty terms and make Germany less reliant on French and Swedish imports of iron ore.[7]

Research and development on domestic production of certain natural resources had already been underway long before Hitler's demands in 1936. In 1926, IG Farben began construction on the first facility for coal hydrogenation in the world. Coal hydrogenation is the chemical process through which coal is turned into petroleum. In 1933, Vestag, the German steel and coal conglomerate, pushed the Nazi government to invest in synthetic fuel created from coal. By the end of 1933, the Reich Finance Ministry and IG Farben finalized a deal in which the Reich would subsidize the Leuna coal hydrogenation plant in return for any profits over 5 percent.[8]

In 1936, Hitler asserted that the Nazi government would not interfere with how private industry planned to increase production. In the memo, it

---

[4] Domarus, 4.

[5] Tooze, 221.

[6] Domarus, 7-8.

[7] Alan S. Milward, *The German Economy at War*, (London: The Athlone Press, 1965), 3.

[8] Tooze, 116-118.

is stated that "The job of the Ministry of Economic Affairs is simply to set the national economic tasks; private industry has to fulfill them."[9] The main issue that Hitler sought to regulate in the economy was businesses' resistance to foreign currency controls and attempts to avoid having foreign assets requisitioned.[10] In 1934, Hermann Goering and Reinhard Heydrich had been charged with confiscating foreign assets and currency held by German companies and individuals.[11] Hitler considered any attempts to hide foreign assets that were not part of the German economy as a "deliberate sabotage of our national self-assertion and of the defense of the Reich."[12] He proposed a death penalty for those that were guilty of hiding foreign assets that could be used to meet domestic economic production goals.[13]

In the 1936 memorandum, Hitler called for a multi-year plan led by Nazi leadership to meet the economic objectives he had discussed. This was the inspiration for what would develop into the Four Year Plan. Hitler believed in an economic plan that would have an approach similar to the "tempo, determination, and ruthlessness" seen in the military. He wanted it to be led by Nazi leaders who would be capable of providing the leadership that Hitler believed would be able to inspire the German people to carry the burden of individual economic constraints created by military and governmental demands for economic resources. Hitler concluded his memorandum with two distinct goals. They were that the German army had to be operational within four years, and that the German economy must be ready for war within four years.[14]

The Nazi Four Year Plan began to develop after Hitler's August 1936 memorandum. By September, only Goering and the War Minister Werner von Blomberg had been given the full text of the memo. On September 4, 1936, Goering read passages of the memo at a secret meeting of the Prussian ministerial council. On September 9th, Hitler's new economic policies were publicly announced at the annual Nazi Party rally in Nuremburg.[15] The establishment of the Four Year Plan saw resistance from Minister of Economics Hjalmar Schacht. Schacht and Hitler had for years argued over the economic policies of Germany. Schacht believed that Germany would achieve economic prosperity through foreign trade and a focus on exports. This differed from Hitler's desire to increase domestic production through

---

[9]   Domarus, 7.

[10] Tooze, 221.

[11] Tooze, 214.

[12] Domarus, 8.

[13] Tooze, 221.

[14] Tooze, 222.

[15] Tooze, 222.

stockpiling resources in Germany.[16] The origins of Hitler's policies favoring domestic production over foreign trade stem from his thoughts in his "Second Book," in which he writes that an economic focus on foreign trade would lead to war with Britain.[17] When Schacht found out about Hitler's economic plan he tried to convince Blomberg that the technologies Hitler's plans relied on were not ready to be at full capacity to meet Germany's natural resource needs. He argued that the new economic program would hurt Germany through causing a decrease in both foreign exports and imports. Despite his pleas, Blomberg and the military leadership ignored Schacht.[18] The advent of the Four Year Plan in Germany was a rejection of Keynesian economics and foreign trade as the basis for economic success. Germany instead chose to pursue an economic policy of autarky and protection of domestic production.[19]

On October 18, Hermann Goering was named general plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan by Hitler. Goering was given responsibility over almost every aspect of economic policy.[20] Hermann Goering was chosen despite his limited experience in economics due to the fact that Goering was a loyal Nazi party official and Hitler trusted him more than knowledgeable economics and military ministers such as Schacht and Blomberg.[21] In December 1936, Goering met with German industrial leaders and argued that German businessmen must be willing to increase production to full capacity despite their reservations. Goering repeated Hitler's ideology that any individual economic motives must be put aside because Germany was about to be locked in a conflict that would lead to total victory or destruction and the performance of German industry would be essential to the outcome.[22]

A new organization in the Nazi government was created by Goering that would be responsible for taking economic actions that would meet the goals of the Four Year Plan. The members of Four Year Plan administration included military leaders, Nazi Party officials, associates of Goering, and

---

[16] Hjalmar Schacht, *Confessions of "The Old Wizard,"* (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1955), 337.

[17] Gerhard L. Weinberg, ed., *Hitler's Second Book: the Unpublished Sequel to Mein Kampf* (bk. 2) (New York, NY: Enigma Books, 2003), 78.

[18] Schacht, 337-338.

[19] N.R. Reagin, "Marktordnung and Autarkic Housekeeping: Housewives and Private Consumption under the Four-Year Plan, 1936–1939," *German History* 19, no. 2 (June 2001): 3.

[20] Tooze, 224.

[21] Berenice Carroll, *Design for Total War, Arms, and Economics in the Third Reich*, 1st ed. (The Hague: Mouton De Gruyter, 1968), 123.

[22] Arthur Schweitzer, *Big Business in the Third Reich*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), 545.

figures in German industry. Colonel Fritz Loeb was made head of the raw materials department. Gauleiter Josef Wagner was given responsibility over wage and price controls. Erich Neumann, a close associate of Goering, had responsibility over foreign exchange issues. Carl Krauch, the leading specialist in synthetic fuels at IG Farben, was made the head of research and development.[23] While Goering was given authority to create the office of the Four Year Plan and received significant control over German economic policy, his Four Year Plan office still had to coordinate with other government administrations and also sometimes uncooperative private industries.[24]

In order to provide financial support for the Four Year Plan, Germany had to make a significant investment of economic resources. Economic actions taken due to the Four Year Plan were to account for 20 to 25 percent of all investment in the German economy from 1936 to 1940. Goering believed that this investment could actually save Germany money by halving its import bill by giving the German economy the ability to domestically produce 2.3 billion Reichsmarks worth of raw materials. This projection was a five percent increase in the total production of German industry. By the end of 1937, the budget of the Four Year Plan had risen to 10 billion Reichsmarks.[25] This data shows that by investing 10 billion RM to have an increase in production of 2.3 billion RM, the Four Year Plan and its goals were based on Hitler's ideology around preparing for war rather than a focus on rational economic growth. Economists predicted Germany would experience adverse economic impacts due to the Four Year Plan's goals. For example, Germany's competiveness in international trade could be hurt due to the increased costs of developing domestic substitutes driving down demand for suddenly more expensive German exports. The Four Year Plan could also have resulted in Germany being ostracized by its trading partners.[26] By 1940, some economists were wondering how all the excess spending on infrastructure had not bankrupted Germany.[27]

The Four Year Plan office incorporated economic and technological developments that came before its establishment. Carl Krauch at IG Farben had developed synthetic fuel production using coal hydrogenation. By 1936, production had reached 1.78 million tons.[28] Krauch had been building on the synthetic fuel technology discussed earlier that had been operational since 1926. In 1934, Schacht, under pressure from Hitler, urged coal and oil

[23] Tooze, 225.

[24] Norman Rich, *Hitler's War Aims: Ideology, the Nazi State, and the Course of Expansion* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1992), 68.

[25] Tooze, 225.

[26] Business Week, "What Hitler's Newest Deal Means", 9/26/1936, 2.

[27] New Republic, "Why Isn't Germany Bankrupt?", May 27, 1940, 1.

[28] Tooze, 226.

industrialists to expand domestic fuel production through coal hydrogenation. These companies were reluctant because the process and facilities to produce synthetic fuel was expensive, so Schacht conscripted leading coal producers to form the Braunkohlenbenzin AG or Brabag. Each member was forced by the state to subsidize synthetic fuel production. This resulted in three new coal hydrogenation plants being operational by 1936. Krauch played a role in Brabag as the technical expert.[29]

One of the most important raw material demands required by the Four Year Plan was an increase in the production of steel using domestic, low grade iron ore. By the beginning of 1936, the steel industry led by Ernst Poensgen had been alerting the Nazi government of a possible crisis in the steel supply. Due to a reduction in iron ore imports because of a balance of payments crisis in 1935 and a decrease in foreign trade, the steel industry was coming dangerously close to being unable to provide the resources to enable German rearmament.[30] Consequentially, securing a reliable domestic source of steel was the main priority of Goering and his Four Year Plan administration. The ideal solution for Goering was to increase domestic production of iron ore, but it was projected that it would take two years of development of domestic production under the Four Year Plan before the steel shortage would be relieved.[31] The steel shortage was an issue that had to be dealt with in 1936 for Germany to even be capable of rearmament.

In order to create an immediate remedy of the steel shortage, the Four Year Plan office ordered a steel production cut of 15 percent in order to preserve critically low supplies of iron ore. Due to the need of steel exports to avoid a substantial trade deficit, the steel rationing affected domestic needs the most as steel produced for domestic demand was cut by 25 percent. This reduced the amount of steel available to 1.070 million tons; this amount was what Germany had to cover the needs of the Wehrmacht, the Four Year plan, and consumer demand. This resulted in steel mills being flooded with orders that could not be satisfied. The Reich Ministry for Economic Affairs began rationing the supply of steel in February 1937. The Ministry solved the issue of steel orders backing up by making production orders that could not be satisfied by April 1937 void. After February, steel orders could only be placed through the Reich Ministry, who allocated steel based on national priority.[32] Priorities were given to both the Wehrmacht and the Four Year Plan initiatives. The decision to start rationing steel to meet the demands of the Four Year Plan and military rearmament had a significant effect on the German economy.

---

[29] Tooze, 118-119.

[30] Tooze, 209.

[31] Tooze, 230.

[32] Tooze, 231.

The effect of steel rationing was that it kept the German economy functioning but also did not lead to the increase in domestic production of resources that the Four Year Plan required. The rationing system gave priority to the Wehrmacht but due to the stagnation in domestic steel production the Wehrmacht was receiving the same amount of steel in 1937 that it had been getting in 1936, despite its needs increasing. The army was requesting 270,550 tons of steel a month but getting only 195,000, only 72% of the steel it required.[33] The main reason for the stagnation in steel resources available for the war economy was that Schacht was able to successfully argue that the top priority for steel production had to be for export. This is due to Germany needing to maintain a favorable trade balance and not deplete its foreign currency reserves. Schacht's economic policies led in the beginning of 1937 to more steel production being allocated to exports than to rearmament and the Four Year Plan combined.[34]

The questioned that faced the German economy and the Four Year Plan office was how to expand the domestic supply of steel without taking away the amount used in foreign trade. The way that was pursued by Wilhelm Keppler, the Four Year Plan official in charge of metal resources, and Paul Pleiger, his expert on steel, was to increase the harvesting of Germany's numerous iron ore deposits. This led to a conflict between Four Year Plan officials and the German steel industry in the Ruhr led by Ernst Poensgen. The industrials preferred importing high-grade Scandinavian ore to harvesting the inferior, low grade iron ore in the Ruhr. Pleiger argued that large ore deposits in the Ruhr could yield millions of tons of iron annually. He projected that exploitation of these reserves could triple domestic iron production from 2 million to 6 million tons a year and make German steel production much more self-sufficient. The private steel firms ended up conceding because an end to the steel shortage would be beneficial to them, too. In June 1937, the Four Year Plan office and the steel industry cooperated on a program to raise domestic steel production from a maximum capacity of 19.3 million tons to 24 million tons. Unlike other economic developments part of the Four Year Plan, this was not due to the creation of innovative technology or new industries but simply a program of domestic growth to the already present steel and iron industries. This program called for a 10 percent increase in the number of blast furnaces and coke ovens, which, according Pleiger, would be enough to put maximize the productivity of Germany's steel converters and rolling mills.[35]

However, despite Pleiger reaching an agreement with the steel industry, he was determined to break the power of the Ruhr steel industry

---

[33]   Tooze, 232.

[34]   Tooze, 234.

[35]   Tooze, 234-235.

by creating an independent, state controlled steel conglomerate. Pleiger and Goering secured the services of Hermann Brassert, a German-American engineer involved in construction of 20 percent of the world's blast furnaces. On June 16, 1937, Goering verbally attacked steel industrialists over their failure to develop domestic iron ore reserves at a meeting involving Germany's steel shortage. This was despite the recent agreement to develop more facilities to utilize German iron ore. On July 15, 1937, Pleiger signed the articles that created the Reichswerke Hermann Goering. This was a public company that had an initial investment of 5 million Reichsmarks contributed by the Nazi government. The initial goal of the project was for Brassert to build a state-of-the-art steelworks that had an initial output of 1 million tons per year. This quota would later rise to 4 million tons. On July 23, 1937, Goering invited the representatives of six leading steel firms to a private meeting in which he stressed that due to the private industry being unwilling to utilize German iron ore deposits, all privately owned German iron ore deposits would be confiscated and incorporated into a state company. The goal of the Four Year Plan office was to build three huge steelworks adjacent to the iron ore fields.[36] Goering wanted to make the Reichswerke the center of German rearmament. His goal was to buy up other steel and iron facilities in Austria and create a European conglomerate that could provide a permanent supply of steel to Germany in war and peacetime. By 1940, it was the largest steel conglomerate in Europe due to acquisitions from territories acquired by Germany in 1938 and 1939.[37] The actions by Pleiger and Goering show that Four Year Plan policies in regards to private industry were shifting from Hitler's original proclamation that industry would not be interfered with to total state control of production.

Poensgen and steel industry leader Vestag tried to mount opposition to this intimidation by the Nazi government. They were backed by Minister of Economic Affairs and Reichsbank president Hjalmar Schacht. The biggest issue that the steel industry had with Goering's decree was that it did not want the creation of new, massive steelworks that would burden Germany with excess supply and cost 200 million Reichsmarks to build. They were afraid these state facilities would cause an overproduction of steel which would upset the equilibrium of prices in the European steel trade and decrease their profits.[38] Alan Milward argues that Goering would have been better off keeping to the original agreement made to invest capital in existing steel facilities to improve production rather than building an expensive modern steel plant that used more money to develop lower quality German

---

[36] Tooze, 237.

[37] R. J. Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, USA, 1995), 186.

[38] Tooze, 237.

ore, especially when there was cheaper, high quality Swedish ore available for import.[39] Contemporary economists at the time also raised the question of why Germany was paying a much higher cost for manufacturing low grade ore when cheaper, better iron ore was available from Sweden.[40] The reasons for Goering deciding to build new steelworks were that the giant steelwork planned in Salzgitter met a political goal of showing off German and Nazi industrial might and that its construction supported Hitler's plans for economic autarky.[41]

The attempt by Poensgen to unite the steel industry in opposition to these state policies failed due to both Goering's use of police state methods to wiretap the steel industry and Schacht's office to discover his foe's strategy and because the steel industry was too divided to put up a united opposition. Goering declared any steel industry leaders who sided with Poensgen and Schacht to be guilty of economic sabotage. Steel industrialists such as Hermann Roechling and Wilhelm Zangen, CEO of Mannesmann, refused to oppose the deal because they believed the German demand for steel would grow exponentially and that the Reichswerke project would not create a steel surplus.[42] This led to Vereinigte, Stahlwerke, Hoesch and Krupp to open negotiations to sell their iron ore deposits to the Reichswerke in August 1937. These events also led to Schacht resigning as Minister of Economics. By October 1939, the huge steelworks being constructed by Brassert at Salzgitter were operational.[43]

The Reichwerke project actually did little to solve Germany's steel shortage in 1937 and 1938. The Four Year Plan fell behind on its quota for domestic steel production. The rearmament of the Wehrmacht was slowing down and Hitler was becoming aware of the issue. German military leaders were becoming frustrated at why resources were being diverted to large construction projects such as the Reichswerke. In response to the military's criticisms of the Four Year Plan office, Goering put a military leader in charge of steel rationing. In July 1937, Goering appointed Colonel Hermann von Hanneken, the chief of staff at the army procurement office, to be in control of steel rations. Hanneken was unable to provide a significant increase in allocations to the army and by September War Minister Blomberg was demanding action from Hitler. The actions that Hitler and Goering ending up taking to alleviate the steel shortage were to maximize the capacity of Germany's existing blast furnaces and steel mills. The Reichswerke project would have no positive effect on the steel supply because it would not

---

[39] Milward, 4.

[40] Business Week, "What Germany Pays for Hitler," 2/19/1938, 2.

[41] Milward, 4.

[42] Tooze, 237-238.

[43] Tooze, 238-239.

be operational till the end of the Four Year Plan's timeline in 1939. On November 22, 1937, Colonel Hanneken informed iron and steel firms that rations on steel production would be lifted. Goering wanted Germany's iron ore production raised to its maximum capacity. This had a positive effect on the steel supply and by early 1938 the Wehrmacht had the resources available to once again discuss accelerated rearmament. However, the steel shortages in 1937 had a serious effect on the Four Year Plan's ability to provide the resources needed to have the German military ready by 1939. In December 1937, the German high command estimated that Germany's army would not be fully equipped for war until the spring of 1943.[44]

An important contribution that the Four Year Plan made to the German war economy was the development of the synthetic fuel industry in Germany. As discussed earlier, Carl Krauch, an IG Farben specialist, had been developing a synthetic fuel industry based around coal hydrogenation plants. Synthetic fuel production in Germany had reached 1.78 million tons by 1936. However, due to increases in German fuel consumption, this only accounted for 34 percent of the nation's domestic needs.[45] In 1936, Hitler demanded that as part of the Four Year Plan, Germany should be domestically self-sufficient in petroleum production in eighteen months.[46] This goal would require quick development of the synthetic fuel resources in order to increase capacity by one million tons. According to the Four Year Plan, Germany was to require no oil imports by 1939, and would be able to domestically produce 5.4 million tons of synthetic fuel. Achieving this natural resource goal made up a majority of the Four Year Plan's budget from 1936 to 1939.[47]

The objective of the Four Year Plan to increase domestic oil production was to construct ten synthetic fuel plants that would run using coal hydrogenation. The cost of this construction was estimated to be 1.15 billion Reichsmarks. German fuel self-sufficiency was to be provided by a combination of the hydrogenation plants and from oil, alcohol, benzoyl, and tar distillation. In order to incentivize companies to invest in costly synthetic fuel facilities the Nazi government put a high tariff on imported oil, subsidized drilling for new oil wells, and made loans to help with the costs of constructing hydrogenation plants.[48] These measures were successful at improving the capacity of the domestic production of fuel. Between 1936 and 1939, the development of hydrogenation plants was able to double the

---

[44] Tooze, 239-240.

[45] Tooze, 226.

[46] Domarus, 6.

[47] Tooze, 227.

[48] Burton H Klein, *Germany's Economic Preparations for War*, Second ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 39.

synthetic oil capacity of the German economy. By the time World War II began in 1939, there were fourteen hydrogenation plants in operation and another six were under construction.[49]

Despite the measures of the Four Year Plan being successful at increasing domestic fuel production, this increased production still did not satisfy the needs of the German war preparations and certainly did not make Germany a self-sufficient producer of petroleum. An analysis of the actual amount of fuel consumed in the war versus the amount estimated to be required shows that Four Year Plan office significantly underestimated fuel requirements. In 1940, 2.3 million tons of aviation and motor vehicle gasoline were consumed. This amount was 15 percent greater than the amount estimated in the Four Year Plan. Germany used 3.8 million tons of gasoline in 1941 when it invaded the Soviet Union. That amount is 70 percent greater than the estimated fuel requirements set down by the Four Year Plan office.[50] Germany never came close to satisfying Hitler's Four Year Plan goal of doing away with fuel imports completely. In 1939, Germany still imported half of its mineral oil requirements.[51] Goering and the Four Year Plan office also overestimated the productivity of the synthetic fuel industry. The Four Year Plan required domestic oil production to be 3.9 million tons in 1939 and 4.7 million tons in 1940. Actual production was significantly lower than projected. In 1939, actual production was 40 percent lower than projected and in 1940 it was 20 percent lower.[52]

Another resource that was important to the Four Year Plan was rubber. The Four Year Plan's goals for increasing the domestic production of rubber were actually moderately successful and unlike steel and fuel, quotas for synthetic rubber were actually achieved. At the time of the issuance of the "Four Year Plan" memorandum, IG Farben was developing Buna in 1936 as an experimental synthetic rubber. The Four Year Plan office and IG Farben wanted to raise the production of Buna at the experimental production facility in Schkopau from 2,500 tons to 24,000 tons annually. Then their plan was to construct three more Buna plants within the next four years.[53] However, there were issues with Buna; the German military was slow to approve Buna as an acceptable material for tires, and tire manufacturers had to develop processes for using the material in their products.[54]

---

[49]   Klein, 40.

[50]   Klein, 39.

[51]   Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*, 1933-1939 (New York: Penguin Press HC, The, 2005), 363.

[52]   Klein, 39-40.

[53]   Tooze, 227.

[54]   Tooze, 227.

The infrastructure for creating synthetic rubber to aid in the military rearmament program under the Four Year Plan was successful at meeting its resource production goals. In 1939, the production of synthetic rubber was 22,000 tons and in 1942 it was 69,000 tons. The amount of synthetic rubber produced in 1942 actually led to a surplus as it was higher than both military and civilian consumption combined. To encourage the development of synthetic rubber plants, the Nazi government placed a high tariff on imported rubber and subsidized production of plants to make Buna.[55] However despite synthetic rubber meeting its production quota goals it still did not have a significant impact on the German economy and military preparations. In 1938, Buna and synthetic rubber made up only 5 percent of total consumption of rubber. Germany still had to rely on natural rubber imports to equip its military.[56]

In conclusion, the Four Year Plan failed to meets it goals of providing domestic production of natural resources and raw materials that would lead to a self-sufficient Germany and provide the German military with enough materials to rearm itself fully. Due to economic planning grounded in grandiose ideology over sound economic reasoning, Goering and the office of the Four Year Plan ended up greatly overestimating the ability of German industry to provide the domestic production of raw materials and natural resources needed to meet resource quotas set by the German military and Nazi leadership. While the technological developments of the Four Year Plan such as coal hydrogenation plants, Buna synthetic rubber, and the Reichswerke steel facilities did lead to an increase in German economic capacity, they did not reach the lofty goals set by Hitler in his 1936 memorandum.

[55] Klein, 45-46.

[56] Evans, 363.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Hitler, Adolf, and Max Domarus, ed. *The Complete Hitler : A Digital Desktop Reference to His Speeches and Proclamations, 1932-1945.* Wauconda, Ill: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2007. eBook Collection (EBSCOhost), EBSCOhost (accessed October 23, 2013).

Schacht, Hjalmar. *Confessions of "The Old Wizard."* Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1955.

Sternberg, Fritz. "Why isn't Germany Bankrupt?" New Republic 102, no. 22 (May 27, 1940): 717. Points of View Reference Center, EBSCOhost (accessed October 23, 2013).

Weinberg, Gerhard L., ed. *Hitler's Second Book: the Unpublished Sequel to Mein Kampf.* New York, NY: Enigma Books, 2003.

"What Germany Pays For Hitler." Businessweek no. 442 (February 19, 1938): 15. Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File, EBSCOhost (accessed October 23, 2013).

"What Hitler's Newest Deal Means." Businessweek no. 369 (September 26, 1936): 38. Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File, EBSCOhost (accessed October 23, 2013).

Secondary Sources

Carroll, Berenice A. *Design for Total War: Arms and Economics in the Third Reich.* The Hague: Mouton, 1968.

Evans, Richard J. *The Third Reich in Power, 1933-1939.* New York: Penguin Press, 2005.

Klein, Burton H. *Germany's Economic Preparations for War.* London: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Milward, Alan S. *The German Economy at War.* London: University of London: The Athlone Press, 1965.

Overy, R.J. *War and Economy in the Third Reich.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, USA, 1994.

Reagin, N.R. "Marktordnung and Autarkic Housekeeping: Housewives and Private Consumption under the Four-Year Plan, 1936–1939*." *German History* 19, no. 2 (June 2001): 162-184. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed December 5, 2013).

Rich, Norman. *Hitler's War Aims: Ideology, the Nazi State, and the Course of Expansion.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1992.

Schweitzer, Arthur. *Big Business in the Third Reich.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964.

Tooze, Adam. *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy.* 1st American ed. New York: Viking Adult, 2007.

The Diagnosis and Treatment of Alcohol Use Disorder

Samantha Allen

Abstract

Alcohol use disorder is prevalent among Americans of many ages. While some individuals opt not to seek treatment for this psychological disorder, many Americans struggling with alcohol abuse and dependence have taken the step to break free from the bond that alcohol can hold on an individual's life. There are many different ways to approach therapy and treatment, some of which require research and consideration. As a future mental health professional, the author's goal for this paper is to highlight the resources and treatment options available to clients with alcohol use disorder and explain why mental health professionals should be knowledgeable about these options. Some treatment opportunities are available on a local level while others are nationally renowned. This paper is written with both local and national treatment options in mind, and any local research referred to is available to patients seeking help in the area of Greenville, South Carolina.

Alcohol Use Disorder

Psychopathology is the scientific study of abnormal behavior in an effort to describe, predict, explain, and change abnormal patterns of functioning (Comer, 2012). Students who enter this field of study gain valuable knowledge on the psychological disorders that plague society and how their symptoms manifest themselves within the lives of individuals. Mental healthcare professionals are responsible not only for this knowledge but also for being able to properly diagnose clients and their symptoms. With a clear understanding of psychopathology and the behaviors of psychological disorders, licensed mental healthcare professionals should have no qualms with being able to diagnose their patients. However, diagnostics are not enough. The next step is the development of a treatment plan that is capable of helping the patient both understand, cope with, and overcome their disorder. With advances in medicine and therapies over the last century, a plethora of treatment options have been developed for psychological disorders such

as alcohol use disorder. This paper will demonstrate why it is important for a mental health care professional to be able to draw from a knowledge of resources to assist in the development of a treatment plan for an alcoholic. The following are a list of things with which a mental health care professional should be familiar: first the definition and history of alcohol disorder, second, treatment options and facilities on a local and national level, third, internet as well as print resources in addition to a review of the benefits of using such resources, fourth, a literature review of the available research that has been published on alcohol use disorder and finally, available medicines and alternative treatment options to alcohol use disorder. In combination, all of these things will allow a mental health care professional to be the most effective in providing a treatment plan for individuals suffering from alcohol use disorder.

Definition and History

Alcohol use disorder, also known as alcoholism, is a disorder which is characterized by a pattern of maladaptive behaviors and reactions as a result of the consumption of alcohol. With a substance abuse disorder like alcoholism, many symptoms can persist over a 12-month period. Symptoms include large amounts of consumption of alcohol over a long period of time, unsuccessful efforts to control the substance use, large amounts of time spent trying to obtain, use, or recover from the substance, tolerance, and withdrawal (Comer, 2012). This type of behavior often leads to significant impairment and distress in the life of those who have been diagnosed with alcohol use disorder as well as their families. This disease affects many people throughout the United States each year. According to research, "In 2007, an estimated 330,000 individuals aged 18-25 years received specialty Substance Use Disorder treatment in the public system in the United States" (Urbanoski, Kelly, Hoeppner, & Slaymaker, 2011, p. 344).

Alcohol use disorder has two definitions according to the DSM-V: dependence and abuse. Before 1980, only one definition was published in journals: alcoholism. The first two editions of the DSM did not contain specific criteria that professionals could use to diagnose alcoholism. They only provided a brief description of symptoms associated with alcoholism. At the time, clinicians enjoyed this system because they could easily diagnose a patient with the same symptoms. However, studies conducted in the 1960s concluded that this type of diagnostic system reduced reliability. This has also lead to inconsistent diagnostic practices. In 1972, Feighner published a set of research diagnostic criteria that consisted of four categories of indicators of alcoholism. Within each category there existed a list of symptoms and for a patient to be diagnosed, the patient must have been observed to have at

least one symptom from at least three of the four categories. The categories Feighner published are as follows: physiological aspects of heavy drinking, loss of control over drinking, antisocial behaviors associated with drinking, and guilt about drinking or impaired interpersonal relationships. The Research Diagnostic Criteria, published in 1978, also provided a structure of criteria for diagnosing alcoholism. The RDC entailed 18 possible symptoms, three of which were required to be present in order to diagnose a patient with alcoholism. The DSM-III was the first classification system to provide criteria for more than just alcoholism. It presented criteria for abuse as well as dependence. Manifestation of alcoholism criteria were also presented, being organized into two groups: presumed indicators of pathological use, and impairment in social or occupational functioning as a result of pathological use including legal problems and traffic crashes. The DSM-III also required that the symptoms have been present for at least a month. This was the first classification to require a time frame to be considered when diagnosing patients (Hasin, 2003). All of this history is important to consider when deciding which treatment options are best for patients.

Treatment Options and Facilities

There are several treatment options available to patients seeking treatment. It is important to know which are the best options so as to be able to refer patients to the appropriate places in the event of an alcohol-related emergency as well as in the event of less severe situations. As with any psychological disorder, health emergencies can take place related to alcohol use disorder. One such emergency would be a case in which too much alcohol is consumed in a short period of time. In this event, alcohol poisoning could result and medical attention would be a necessity. In the event of an emergency, Greenville Memorial Hospital would be the best option for short-term treatment for any alcohol-related illness in Greenville county; Greenville Memorial has a behavioral health program in which patients can be admitted for detoxification purposes. Detoxification is a systematic and medically supervised withdrawal from alcohol (Comer, 2012). This type of program would be used if alcohol consumption was out of control. Most patients do not voluntarily check themselves into the behavioral program, but it is a good starting point for someone who has hit rock bottom ("Adult detoxification," 2013).

Alcohol use disorder does not always result in hospitalization, but victims of alcohol use disorder certainly can end up in the hospital. Researchers questioned currently admitted hospital patients and found that of hospital patients already admitted, 17% self-report unhealthy use of alcohol and 1/4 of hospitalized alcohol consumers will have an alcohol

use disorder (Makdissi & Stewart, 2013). According to National Institutes of Health, 1.6 million Americans over 18 years old were hospitalized in 2008 due to overdoses, and half of those overdoses were alcohol related ("NIH study finds hospitalizations increase for alcohol and drug overdoses", 2011).

In the Greenville County area, there are several facilities both inpatient and outpatient that serve as rehabilitative facilities for patients with alcohol use disorder. The Carolina Center for Behavioral Health is a private facility in Greer, South Carolina, dedicated to treating members of the community for psychiatric and chemical dependency. They offer adult as well as adolescent psychiatric and addiction programs ("The Carolina Center," 2013). The Carolina Center for Behavioral Health offers a free needs assessment and referral process for those in need of such services. During the assessment, a professional staff member meets with patients to discuss the needs and treatment options of the client. If ever the Carolina Center for Behavioral Health cannot meet the needs of clients, they refer them to a community or agency better fit to meet their needs. Within their program, they offer individual and group therapy, family programs, and educational sessions. All treatment is confidential and visitation hours are offered for family members.

Pavillon is a treatment provider that provides outpatient services in Greenville, South Carolina, for individuals suffering from substance abuse. They seek to help clients learn to live free from alcohol and substance abuse and to come to terms with their problem and accept their need to change. They want to help clients improve their relationships and they focus on developing spiritual strengths to change clients' cognitive views of themselves. Their final goal is to help clients reintegrate themselves into the community as contributing members of society. Pavillon provides programs that include relapse prevention, family education courses, gender specific programs for women, and monthly community lectures (Pavillon, 2013).

There is no "best place to go" for alcohol treatment, but there are several national treatment facilities across the United States that are highly recommended for individuals with alcohol use disorder. One such treatment facility is Fairwinds Treatment Center in Clearwater, Florida. Fairwinds offers treatment not only for alcohol addiction, but also for drug addiction and eating disorders. Fairwinds focuses on treating co-occurring mental health issues such as depression, anxiety, or bipolar disorder. This is because alcohol abuse is often accompanied by mental health issues. They offer inpatient care, residential care, partial hospitalization, intensive outpatient care, outpatient care, and detoxification processes. The staff at Fairwinds combines therapy practices from the medical and therapeutic community, family systems theory, and the Twelve Step philosophy. The initial assessment is free of charge and treatment involves a very structured schedule including

individual therapy, group therapy, art therapy, meditation, personal training, and other activities. Some insurance companies such as Blue Cross Blue Shield are not affiliated with the Fairwinds Treatment Center, but there may be out-of-network benefits associated with Blue Cross Blue Shield, as well as other companies, that may apply to Fairwinds (Fairwinds Treatment Center, 2013).

For patients seeking help for their addiction without staying in a treatment facility, there are local treatment options from which to choose. One of the most well-known self-help groups for people suffering from Alcohol Use Disorder is Alcoholics Anonymous, otherwise known as A.A, a support group where alcoholics can receive support from fellow alcoholics. Alcoholics Anonymous employs a 12-step program to sobriety. Members of the program work alongside sponsors, fellow alcoholics who have been recovering from their addictions for quite some time. Sponsors help to keep the members accountable and help them understand the 12 steps to recovery (*Self-help groups for alcohol addiction*, 2013). This type of program may be less intimidating than a traditional stay in a detoxification facility because it is operated entirely by Alcoholics.

The twelve steps to recovery as followed by Alcoholics Anonymous include: the admittance that the alcoholic is powerless over alcohol, that a power greater than the alcoholic could restore sanity, and the alcoholic must make a decision to turn the will of their life over to the care of God as the alcoholic understands Him. Further steps include the moral inventory of the alcoholic, admittance to God and others of the wrongs of the alcoholic, and a readiness to have God remove such wrongs. The alcoholic must then ask God to remove their shortcomings and make a list of all people who have been harmed as a result of the alcohol abuse and make amends to them. The alcoholic must continue to take a personal inventory of themselves and seek prayer and meditation. The final step of the program is to promote this message to other alcoholics, so as to "pay it forward" (The twelve steps of Alcoholics Anonymous, 2002). There is an Alcoholics Anonymous chapter in Greenville called Area 62 that is available for residents of Greenville County (*Greater Greenville intergroup*, 2013). It is best for mental health care professionals to be aware of the local treatment options so that they can refer the patients that need treatment close to home as it is also important for mental health care professionals to be aware of national treatment options for those that may need that kind of attention.

Resources

In addition to treatment groups and facilities mental healthcare professionals can also provide a plethora of resources to individuals seeking

recovery. Patients looking for help to change their behaviors should be advised to the array of mental health professionals advertising on the internet. Psychology Today's website offers a search engine in which patients can input their state and county and receive a list of alcohol abuse therapists in their area. A brief biography is offered for each therapist as well as their location and contact information. One of the therapists, Andrea Helm, is a licensed counselor, MED, LPC, and LPCS. She has had twenty-seven years of counseling and mental health care service experience. Ms. Helm uses the family systems perspective in order to help clients analyze their experiences and how they function in everyday relationships (*Alcohol abuse therapists in Greenville County*, 2013). According to Galvin, Bylund, and Brommel, the family systems perspective gives valuable insights into family communication patterns because it provides a framework for understanding the amazing complexities of human organizations (2012). The family systems perspective is a beneficial approach by which to treat alcohol use disorder because it helps patients to see how their families are interdependent and how the choices made by one family unit affects the family as a whole.

Other internet resources containing alcohol use disorder truths and advice also exist. *Rethinking Drinking* is an Internet resource that provides very valuable information that could be helpful to people who wish to address their alcohol use disorder. Information such as what qualifies as a drink and how many drinks are in a common container is easily accessible. It also addresses the question of how much is too much to drink, and provides evaluative questions for patients to ponder. This includes the question of whether or not their drinking pattern is risky and the question of what kind of harm could be presented to the drinker. The site has a page where patients can answer questions such as how many standard drinks they have consumed on any given day in the last year. It also asks how many days per week the patient consumes alcohol. Rethinking Drinking defines low-risk and high-risk drinking for both men and women and addresses the risks and symptoms of alcohol use disorder. The site also gives helpful tips for reducing such risks such as how to cut down on drinks and for pacing the amount of drinks consumed. Patients are encouraged to make a pro and cons list in order to jump start their willingness to take action. All of this information is very helpful for patients to understand, and this particular website would be useful for people who have not yet admitted that they have an alcohol use problem (*Rethinking Drinking*, 2013).

GoMentor.com is another online resource that provides a guide to Alcoholics Anonymous and Alcohol Addiction Therapy. This site provides several links to information regarding the history of AA and their teachings, as well as information that allows patients to understand alcohol abuse and dependence and what happens during alcohol withdrawal. The website also

explains how family history can affect alcoholism. A description of the 12 step system is also provided as well as 10 practical points to recovery and helpful resources for support. This website is useful for patients who have come to accept their alcohol use disorder and who need a push toward treatment. Taking a step to acknowledge the presence of an alcohol use disorder is difficult and signing up for treatment can be confusing if there is not an understanding of what treatment can offer. The links on this website can clear up any confusion that may be present about A.A. and the process that takes place (*GoMentor*, 2013).

A third online resource exists to track the progress of recovery. MyRecovery.com is a site with which people with Alcohol Use Disorder can create a free membership and connect with others in the recovery community. Patients can also discover online treatment programs and take part in online 12 step meetings. There is also an option for members to indicate if they are seeking help for themselves or if they are seeking help for a family member or a friend. Professionals can even gain valuable resources to implement into their own career. This type of resource is valuable because it provides a community of support on which alcoholics can depend. It is this feeling of support that can be the difference to those who are struggling with their dependencies and the guilt and shame that may come along with it (*MyRecovery*, 2013).

In addition to the Internet, print resources also abound on the topic of alcoholism. Bookstores offer a wide range of print materials that can be beneficial to alcoholics seeking treatment on their own. In a book titled *The Alcoholism and Addiction Cure* (Prentiss & Prentiss, 2007), several pieces of advice are offered to readers regarding alcohol addiction recovery. One of the most vital pieces of advice given to readers is that what alcoholics believe about the possibility of their recovery is very determinative as to whether or not they will recover or not. According to the authors, people who believe that relapses are common subconsciously give themselves permission to relapse. Prentiss and Prentiss believe that the first step to recovery is to believe that a cure is possible for the client. The hypothalamus in the brain produces peptides, a type of protein which duplicates every emotion experienced by humans. These peptides can regulate the processes of the body and control the activities of cells in the body. Whenever people feel angry, their body calls out for more peptides that produce anger as opposed to other emotions. As a result, the body's cell receptors can have a level of control over the brain. This is how dependency is caused. The more a person drinks alcohol, the more his or her body craves alcohol because it is associated with feelings in the body. Relapse occurs due to withdrawal symptoms when the feelings associated with alcohol consumption are not experienced. The belief of a patient that recovery is possible and even probable for a patient can change the patient's

production of peptides to positive and happy ones that can then change the course of dependency. According to the authors, a key component to the belief in a possible cure is the hope that accompanies that belief. Without such hope, the authors do not believe that recovery is possible.

In another self-help book, *The Easy Way to Stop Drinking* by Allen Carr (2005), Carr presents his own remedy for alcohol addiction. Like Prentiss and Prentiss, Carr also suggests that readers believe in a cure for their addiction by starting their recovery process in a happy frame of mind. Thinking positively is the most important aspect of the recovery process because recovery is such a challenge for addicts. According to Carr, keeping an open mind is the most difficult part of his instructions. Many people with alcohol use disorder come into treatment with preconceived notions of what recovery is like. Many believe that it is a complex process because that is what they have been told. Certain methods may work well for some people, but others are different and cannot expect to mold themselves into the same pattern. Many times, alcohol traps addicts into exaggerating the benefits of alcohol and underplaying the negative aspects of alcohol. This is why addicts must keep an open mind. They must open their mind to the possibility that they actually have a problem and stop providing excuses for their actions. Carr says that many addicts give reasons for why they keep drinking. They feel withdrawal symptoms, they must drink in social situations, and they think they will be miserable without drinking. Carr calls these excuses, not reasons. In order to avoid such excuses, drinkers must remember that alcohol presents no advantages whatsoever, the same applies to other drinkers, and all drinkers tell lies. Carr believes that people lie when they say they actually enjoy drinking. What they really mean is that they drink because other people do it and they think it is a social engagement and the thing for "grown up" people to do. Carr goes on to explore every possible advantage propitiators of alcohol provide and diffuse their points with how their "reasons" are actually "excuses." Carr seems to take a cognitive approach throughout his work in an attempt to change the way alcoholics think about drinking.

While some authors such as Carr offer logic and reason, others take a spiritual route. In *Recovery-the Sacred Art: The Twelve Steps as a Spiritual Practice*, Rami Shapiro (2009) expands on the twelve steps of Alcoholics Anonymous from a spiritual perspective. According to Shapiro, the first and the last steps of the process are the most crucial. The admittance that a person's life has become unchangeable and that they have no power over it is key, and a person would be lost in an illusion if they could not come to this conclusion. There are several virtues that Shapiro claims that the twelve steps are rooted in. The first of these is powerlessness. The addict must come to the realization that they are not in control because they cannot control their desires, thoughts, feelings, or attitudes. Self-help is not the center of

the Twelve Step system, but rather selfless help. Patients must give their life over to be changed by God. The second virtue is faith. It takes faith to work through each step in order to face the challenges that each step may present. The third virtue is surrender. Addicts must surrender every desire over to God to rule their life. The fourth virtue is humility. In order for addicts to admit their own faults and failures, a great amount of humility must be shown. The fifth virtue is forgiveness. It not only takes a great amount of forgiveness from friends and family of addicts in order to fully recover, but it also takes forgiveness on the part of addicts to forgive themselves all they have done. Wisdom is the sixth virtue presented. Wisdom is experienced when the addict can see the truth of the world with both its good and bad. In order to have a healthy future, the addict must make healthy decisions through the practice of wisdom in the world. The final virtue is hope. According to Shapiro, "Twelve Step recovery is rooted in hope, for if there were no hope of change there would be no point to working the steps" (2009, p. 182). The hope of change is what can move the addict from step to step and provide motivation for continuing. Shapiro's work may be the best option for patients who practice faith and spirituality in their daily living.

For patients who prefer the convenience of a local library, there are other print resources available to them. The author used Gardner-Webb University's Dover Library to locate several books on the subject of Alcohol Use Disorder. In a book by Mark and Linda Sobell, titled *Behavioral Treatment of Alcohol Problems: Individualized Therapy and Controlled Drinking*, the treatment for alcohol use disorder and drinking problems are outlined from a behavioral perspective. The book includes information regarding the nature of alcohol problems and offers a plethora of treatment options alternative to abstinence and an analysis of the behaviors that are exhibited in drinkers. Sobell and Sobell provide a model of drinking decisions and define what constitutes a drinking problem as well as the implications. The book contains the authors' research as well as the rationale for their approach. Behavioral therapists provide clients with individualized behavior therapy (IBT) which includes helping clients identify the function that their drinking serves to them and developing alternative ways of serving those functions. The authors note: "Since individuals have idiosyncratic learning histories, it seems appropriate that treatment strategies be tailored to the characteristics of each individual client" (Sobell & Sobell, 1978, p. 209). Comer (2012) describes different behavioral treatment approaches. He states that behavioral therapists seek to implement individualized behavior therapies that are efficient to minimize the client's personal cost while also maintaining a set of objectives. Many behavioral therapists use aversion therapy, a treatment in which clients are repeatedly presented with unpleasant stimuli while performing undesirable behaviors. This kind of treatment can be implemented by causing a sensation

of nausea in a patient while they are drinking or patients can be prompted to think about upsetting or frightening scenes while they drink. Another approach to behavioral treatment is contingency management, which includes the use of incentives if the patient is clean. Behavioral treatment programs have had only limited success when implemented separate from any other forms of treatment, but when combined with other treatment options, they can be effective.

Another book located in Dover Library reviews addiction and recovery in the lives of women. Straussner and Brown are the editors of *The Handbook of Addiction Treatment for Women: Theory and Practice* (2002). This is a book designed to outline all kinds of addiction and how different kinds of women are affected by them. This includes active addictions and women in recovery. Women young and old and from all kinds of racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds are described. The editors include information that is known about women with addictive behaviors from the past and the present. The editors emphasize that therapists and treatment options should include multiple perspectives in order to accommodate the differing backgrounds that accompany women with addiction. In the final chapter of this book, two specific treatment approaches are compared: group psychotherapy and self-help groups.

According to the fourth chapter of this book, biological factors such as substance metabolism, the amount of pleasure derived from the substance, and how quickly addiction takes place, have an influence on a woman's addiction patterns (O'Connor, Esherick, & Vieten, 2002). Family history plays a significant role in addiction. Relatives of alcoholics were found to be three to five times more likely to develop an alcohol addiction. The addiction patterns of women are also highly likely to be influenced by sociocultural factors. Many women have been found to be denied the ability to pursue their goals and ambitions due to poverty, racism, sexism, and other factors. These women often turn to substance use such as alcohol in order to alter their mental state and afford themselves a temporary state of control. These statements can also be true of women who are unable to pursue goals and ambitions due to an inferior psychological disposition that leads them to believe they are incapable of reaching their goals and ambitions.

Another book also suggests taking a multi-dimensional approach to treatment. Mueser, Noordsy, Drake, and Fox (2003) are the authors of *Integrated Treatment for Dual Disorders: A Guide to Effective Treatment*. In this book, the prevalence of dual disorders as well as how to treat clients with substance abuse and psychiatric disorders is simultaneously reviewed. Because traditional approaches to treating dual disorders have been ineffective, this book highlights new treatment which includes the integration of psychiatric and substance abuse interventions in order to create a way of caring for clients

that is interconnected. Research shows that people with a psychiatric disorder are significantly more likely to have a substance use disorder in addition to their previous disorder. Such alcohol use disorders greatly affect the outcome of psychiatric disorders when present concurrently. Such clients with dual disorders, if not provided with effective treatment, often find themselves in poorer states of illness, including relapses and re-hospitalizations. This book provides assessment tools to physicians and explores treatment options for clients such as individual, group, and family therapy. It is also important, however, to consider how alcohol abuse may produce psychiatric symptoms. Other researchers have found that some symptoms of psychiatric illnesses, such as depression, anxiety, psychosis, and antisocial behaviors can be caused by alcohol abuse (Shivani, Goldsmith, & Anthenelli, 2002). Various online and print resources are in abundance with the development of medicine and therapy, but it is the job of the mental healthcare professional to keep such resources in their arsenal of use when a treatment plan is needed for a client.

Research

It is not only important to draw on and suggest resources for clients to implement into their treatment plan, but it is important for mental healthcare professionals to study and be aware of the various research published on psychological disorders. Such research can influence the approach taken during treatment. In a study conducted by Ahmedani, McBride, and Cheng (2011), various factors were analyzed that are related to alcohol abstinence among people who have received treatment for alcohol use dependency. According to research, 30% of Americans have alcohol use disorder at some point. Studies also show that less than 50% of drinkers achieve long-term abstinence, even if they receive treatment. The researchers examined the abstinence levels of people who had been in 12-step programs, rehabilitation, outpatient specialty care, and detoxification because these are the most prominent forms of treatment. Research indicates that the most successful results of abstinence occur among individuals who have been involved in intensive treatment programs. This could be due to the nature of the treatment. The researchers also found that individuals who do not abstain from alcohol for at least a year following treatment have fewer days of abstinence after three years. The study concluded that the likelihood of abstinence was greater among people who were given emergency room services rather than family or social services. This information could be a result of the nature of emergency room care. Most individuals who end up in the emergency room have experienced some kind of trauma related to their alcohol use. This kind of trauma can be an eye-opening experience for anyone who suffers from alcohol use disorder. Researchers also found certain

demographic variables that contribute to the likelihood of abstinence. Older individuals are more likely to experience abstinence from alcohol than their younger counterparts, African-Americans are the most likely racial group to experience abstinence, followed by Caucasians, and then Hispanics, and gender is not related to the likelihood of abstinence (Ahmedani, McBride, & Cheng, 2012). Treatment plans should be catered to not only the personality of the client, but also their personal history, background, and demographics.

Researchers Wolfe, Kay-Lambkin, Bowman, and Childs (2013) examined the relationship between coercion, treatment motivation, and therapeutic alliance among people with alcohol use disorder seeking treatment. Research indicates that these skills can have an effect on treatment and can contribute to change in behavior post counseling. The authors note that many people with alcohol use disorder are ordered to take treatment services as a result of the criminal justice system or child protection agencies. This means that a great portion of individuals are coerced to seek help. There comes along with this data the assumption that coerced individuals are more likely to resist treatment and less likely to benefit from it. However, researchers have found that this is not necessarily the case. The individuals who felt that they had experienced at least some level of choice had a higher motivation to succeed. This could be because they felt like they were somewhat in control of their own well-being. The research conducted specifically by Wolfe et al. has established that coercion into treatment has no effect on improvement in treatment. It has also been found that highly motivated clients have much better treatment outcomes than their non-motivated counterparts. This could be due to better treatment attendance, better perceptions of treatment, and better relationships with therapists. Highly motivated persons report higher confidence levels in the outcome of their treatment.

Therapeutic alliance is the safe, compassionate, genuine, and empathetic relationship between a therapist and a client (Wolfe, Kay-Lambkin, Bowman, & Childs, 2013). The research suggests that it is important for the therapist to show empathy, engage in clear communication, and establish a relationship of trust in order for the client to succeed in therapy and thus develop therapeutic alliance. This is sometimes difficult, however, because people with alcohol use disorder have a history of possessing qualities such as distrust, emotional irregularity, and difficulty relating socially with others. Wolfe et al. found that coerced clients were less likely to develop therapeutic alliance. This could be because patients who are coerced to enter treatment have not actually made the decision for themselves and they may not really want to be in treatment.

Other researchers have also explored the role of therapeutic alliance in the treatment of individuals with alcohol use disorder. In an experiment designed to review the motivation of clients checking into treatment, it

was found that motivation of the client at their time of admission was the most consistent predictor of a strong therapeutic alliance (Urbanoski, Kelly, Hoeppner, & Slaymaker, 2011). This could be due to these clients having a more open mind and willing attitude to change upon arrival. Other predictors highlighted by the researchers are better coping strategies and greater social support. They also found that patients who had a stronger therapeutic alliance were more likely to have been committed to alcoholic anonymous pre-treatment. Treatment related attitudes are also related to therapeutic alliance. Demographic factors do not have any influence over therapeutic alliance. It was also determined that older patients developed a stronger therapeutic alliance during the first few weeks of treatment if they entered with higher motivation, self-efficacy, and coping skills. These patients then went on to experience greater reductions in distress during treatment. This information could be revolutionary to treatment techniques and success. Mental healthcare professionals could take this information and develop a new way to motivate patients, encourage their self-efficacy, and improve their coping skills. This would result in greater success in the treatment of clients. Therapeutic alliance was found to be unrelated to abstinence after treatment, according to the researchers.

Other research emphasizes the duality that must take place during treatment. Researcher Ukachi (2013) explores drug and alcohol addiction as well as treatment options in her work. Her area of concern is psychoactive drugs, substances that affect an individual's thoughts, feelings, and actions. Ukachi goes on to explain drug addiction and how it manifests itself in the lives of people. Alcohol is classified as a drug in many cases due to its addictive nature and the inhibitory reactions it produces in users. Ukachi states that people with substance abuse disorders like alcohol use disorder will often also suffer from some type of mental illness, and this must be taken into consideration when forming a treatment plan. Ukachi offers an explanation and evaluation of how counseling works in a substance abuse treatment plan. On top of counseling, Ukachi suggests that the motivational interview be added to counseling services due to its effectiveness. Motivational interview is defined as any clinical strategy designed to enhance client motivation for change. It is a client-centered style of interaction aimed at helping people explore and resolve their ambivalence about their substance use. There are several stages of change involved in the addiction recovery process including pre-contemplation, contemplation, determination/preparation, action, maintenance, and relapse. Motivational interviewing is the ability to determine clients' readiness to change or the ability to figure out their stage of change. Within the style of motivational interviewing, several techniques are used to build a therapeutic relationship. They are: asking open-ended questions, affirmation, reflective listening, summarizing, and eliciting self-

motivating statements. According to Ukachi, motivational interviewing is effective in the treatment of substance abuse including alcohol abuse because it is an enhancement of traditional treatment and has been proven to reduce substance-using patterns. All of this information is pertinent to the advising of patients seeking help for alcohol addiction because each of these findings affects how patients will perform in treatment.

Medication

Advances in medicine over the last century have also led to the research and development of treatment methods for alcohol use disorder. There are several medications available to alcoholics designed for treatment purposes. The most frequently used medications are Naltrexone, Disulfiram, and Acamprosate. Naltrexone blocks certain receptors in the brain and thus decreases the feeling of intoxication that alcohol causes. Studies have shown that for every five patients, one patient avoided relapse with the help of Naltrexone. Although evidence for the effectiveness is weak, Disulfiram is a medication that inhibits acetaldehyde dehydrogenase. If the drug is in the patient's system, certain physiological changes will take place after the consumption of alcohol, including palpitations, flushing, nausea, vomiting, and headache. Acamprosate also blocks receptors in the brain and can help control alcohol cravings. Acamprosate is approved by the FDA and has been proven to reduce short-term as well as long-term relapses. Further research is being done to learn about selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors. Studies indicate that the drug fluoxetine has been shown to produce effects in patients including the consumption of fewer drinks, and fewer heavy drinking days than those who received a placebo. Some anticonvulsants such as Topamax, Neurontin, and Depacon have also been studied. Researchers have discovered that Topamax is effective in producing abstinence and that patients self-report having consumed fewer drinks per day and fewer heavy drinking days. Nalmefene is an opioid that can also reduce relapses in patients. It is not FDA approved, however, and can only be found in an injectable form. According to Williams, Acamprosate and naltrexone are the most effective choices for medication if used alongside of professional help. Similar to behavioral treatments, biological treatments have little success when implemented alone, but can be affective if implemented simultaneously with other treatment methods (Comer, 2012).

Non-Traditional Methods

Non-traditional methods also exist to treat alcohol use disorder. Nutritional therapy is designed to reduce the body's dependence on

carbohydrates that convert sugar in the bloodstream. The carbohydrates then cause the body to overproduce insulin which then causes the amount of sugar in the body to drop. The drop in sugar then produces cravings which can then be curbed by the consumption of alcohol. Nutritional therapy involves the reduction of consumption of white bread, pasta, rice, and other foods packed with carbohydrates. Instead, it involves a diet of high-protein foods that curb the craving for sugar in the body. In addition to giving up carbohydrates, alcoholics who try nutritional therapy are encouraged to give up caffeine and nicotine as well. Overall, Nutritional therapy has proven to be successful. Seventy four percent of alcoholics who finished the nutritional program were sober after three years. While non-traditional methods are just that, non-traditional, they may still be part of an effective treatment plan for alcoholics when their mental health care provider is aware of their strengths and weaknesses.

No matter which psychological disorder a patient may be facing, it is important for mental healthcare professionals to remain up-to-date on not only the symptoms, specifics, and history of the disorder. Knowledge of the available treatment options, resources, and research on the topic is also necessary. Each of the treatment options has its pros and cons that need to be taken into consideration. In addition, each patient comes with a different history and level of commitment to treatment, which can ultimately affect the effectiveness of said treatment. Alcohol use disorder is one of the over 400 psychological disorders that plague the U.S. (Comer, 2012). With the ongoing prevalence of psychological disorders and the growing need for treatment, mental healthcare students and practitioners must remain diligent in their field in order to provide only the best treatment for their clients. Not only will they be able to best help their patients, but they will also be successful in their career.

Bibliography

Adult detoxification. (2013). Greenville Health System: Marshall I. Pickens Hospital Behavioral Health. Retrieved September 20, 2013, from http://ghspsych.org/adult-detoxification/.

Ahmedani, B. K., McBride, O., & Cheng, H. G. (2012). Factors related to recent alcohol abstinence among individuals who received previous treatment. *American Journal of Drug & Alcohol Abuse*, 38(1), 87-92.

Alcohol abuse therapists in Greenville County. (2013). Psychology Today: Therapists. Retrieved September 19, 2013, from http://therapists.psychologytoday.com/rms/prof_results.php? county=Greenville&state=SC&spec=248.

Carr, A. (2005). *The Easy Way to Stop Drinking.* New York, NY: Sterling.

Comer, R. J. (2012). *Abnormal Psychology*, (seventh ed., pp. 293-326). New York, NY: Worth Publishers.

Fairwinds Treatment Center. (2013). Retrieved September 16, 2013, from http://www.fairwindstreatment.com/.

Galvin, K., Bylund, C., & Brommel, B. *Family Communication: Cohesion and Change*, (eighth ed., p. 57). Boston, MA: Pearson Education Inc.

Greater Greenville intergroup. (2013). Area 62: South Carolina. Retrieved September 17, 2013, from http://area62.org/intergroup/greenville.htm.

GoMentor. (2013). Retrieved from http://www.gomentor.com/articles/guide-aa-alcohol-addiction.aspx.

Haiken, M. (2011). Nutrition therapy for treating alcoholism- Nutrition treatment for alcoholics. Healthy Place. Retrieved October, 28, 2013, taken from http://www.healthyplace.com/alternative-mental-health/addictions/nutrition-therapy-for-treating-alcoholism/nutrition-treatment-for-alcoholics/.

Hasin, D. (2003). Classification of alcohol use disorders. *National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism*. Retrieved September 22, 2013, from http://pubs.niaaa.nih.gov/publications/arh27-1/5-17.htm.

Makdissi, R, & Stewart, S. H. (2013). Care for hospitalized patients with unhealthy alcohol use: A narrative review. *Addiction Science & Clinical Practice,* 8(11), 1-10.

Mueser, K. T., Noordsy, D. L., Drake, R. E., & Fox, L. (2003). *Integrated treatment for dual disorders: A guide to effective practice.* New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

MyRecovery. (2013). Retrieved from http://www.myrecovery.com/#axzz2hqL9HDCd.

NIH study finds hospitalizations increase for alcohol and drug overdoses. (2011, September 20). *Department of Health and Human Services.* Retrieved October 13, 2013, from http://www.nih.gov/news/health/sep2011/niaaa-20. htm.

O'Connor, L. E., Esherick, M. & Vieten, C. (2002). Drug and alcohol abusing women. In Straussner, S. L. A., & Brown, S. (Eds.), *The handbook of addiction treatment for women: Theory and practice.* (75-78). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Pavillon. (2013). *Outpatient services in Greenville, South Carolina.* Retrieved September 16, 2013, from http://www.pavillon.org/iop.php.

Prentiss, P. & Prentiss, C. (2007). *The Alcoholism and Addiction Cure.* Los Angeles, CA: Power Press.

Rethinking Drinking. (2013). Retrieved from http://rethinkingdrinking.niaaa.nih. gov/ toolsresources/Resources.asp.

Self-help groups for alcohol addiction. (2013). Helpguide. Retrieved September 17, 2013, from http://www.helpguide.org/mental/support_groups_alcohol.htm.

Shapiro, R. (2009). *Recovery- the Sacred Art: The Twelve Steps as a Spiritual Practice.* Woodstock, VT: Skylight Paths.

Shivani, R., Goldsmith, J., and Anthenelli, R. (2002). Alcoholism and psychiatric disorders: Diagnostic challenges. *National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism.* Retrieved November 2, 2013, from http://pubs.niaaa.nih.gov/ publications/arh26-2/90-98.htm.

Sobell, M. B., & Sobell, L. C. (1978). *Behavioral treatment of alcohol problems: Individualized therapy and controlled drinking.* New York, NY: Penum Press.

The Carolina Center. (2013). Retrieved September 14, 2013, from http://www. thecarolinacenter.com/adult-addiction.php.

The twelve steps of Alcoholics Anonymous. (2002). General Service Office. Retrieved September 17, 2013, from http://www.aa.org/en_pdfs/smf-121_en.pdf.

Ukachi, M. (2013). Motivational interview; Evidence based strategy in the treatment of alcohol and drug addiction. *IFE Psycholiga*, 21(3-5), 174-196.

Urbanoski, K. A., Kelly, J. F., Hoeppner, B. B., & Slaymaker, V. (2011). The role of therapeutic alliance in substance use disorder treatment for young adults. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment.* 43 (2012) 344-351.

Williams, S. H. (2005). Medications for treating alcohol dependence. *American Family Physician*, 72(9), 1775-1780, Retrieved from_http://www.aafp.org/afp/2005 /1101/p1775.html.

Wolfe, S., Kay-Lambkin, F., Bowman, J., and Childs, S. (2013). To enforce or engage: The relationship between coercion, treatment motivation and therapeutic alliance within community-based drug and alcohol clients. *Addictive Behaviors*, 38(4), 2187-2195.

Is Satan Really Dead?
Exploring the Character of Satan in the Old Testament and Synoptic Gospels in Comparison to a Few Modern Interpretations

Rachel Bradley

Introduction

Many images come to the minds of people when they hear the name "Satan." A poll of all occupants of the Gardner-Webb University library one evening revealed that the most common thoughts or images of Satan (or the devil) among those polled involve a red demon with a pitchfork urging people to do evil (the words "red" and "fire" were the most commonly used in people's descriptions).[1]Others envision some sort of less than human creature who encompasses all meanings of the words *evil, torture,* and *suffering.* But how did we get these images of Satan? The "Satan" described in scripture is very different from the contemporary concept. Is our modern-day image accurate, or have we created our own monster in order to excuse our shortcomings and sin and to explain the question of theodicy? In order to discover the answer, we must take a look at both Old and New Testament depictions and further explore the Biblical character of Satan.

Satan in the Old Testament

The name "Satan" is derived from the Hebrew root *satan* (שׂטן), which means "adversary, opponent."[2] This word by itself does not necessarily carry a supernatural connotation. Rather, the adversary referenced could be another individual (Gen 27:41), an enemy nation (1 Sam 29:4), or an accuser in a legal action (Ps 109:6). However, this word *can* also be used to denote a "superhuman adversary," the prime example of which is in Job.[3] English translations use the word "Satan" (notice the capitalization) when the definite article is included: *ha satan* (הַשָּׂטָן). Most scholars point out that *ha satan* should be understood as denoting a function rather than an office. Satan

---

[1] I polled about twenty people on Tuesday, February 19, 2013 at around 7:00pm in the Dover Library on the Gardner-Webb University campus.

[2] Arhus K. Nielsen, "*Satan,*" from the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament,* eds. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, vol. 14 (Grand Rapids: Eerdman's Pub., 2004) 73.

[3] Ibid., 75.

does have a role and a function, and that role occasionally places him in a supernatural position.

According to the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (TDOT), the noun *satan* occurs twenty-seven times, while the verb *satan* occurs six times.[4] Out of these uses, most passages refer to some sort of human adversary and the word is translated accordingly. Only three passages translate the word as "Satan" and denote a supernatural character. Mariottini comments that in passages from Job and Zechariah, "The Hebrew word *satan* appears with a definite article to emphasize his function as the 'accuser.' He is a being subordinated to the power of God. In 1 Chr 21 Satan appears as the personal name of a being who incites an individual to evil."[5] According to Elaine Pagels, "In classical biblical sources, the Satan is God's obedient servant and he carries out the will of the LORD."[6]

Job contains the fullest discussion of the character of Satan in the Old Testament (Job 1:6-9,12; 2:1-4,6-7). These verses tell the story of a conversation between God and Satan. The heavenly court and Satan are all present before the LORD. God asks Satan what he has been doing, and Satan replies that he has arrived from, "going to and fro on the earth, and from walking up and down on it" (1:7; 2:2). God asks if Satan has considered his servant Job because he is a blameless and upright man. Satan claims that the only reason for Job's loyalty is that God has given him a good life. God agrees to allow Satan to "incite" Job and to take away all that he holds dear, with the exception of his life, in order to discover if he is truly loyal to God.

The character of Satan has a much larger role here in Job than in any of the other Old Testament passages in which he is mentioned. However, his nature is ambiguous. In the book of Job, is Satan an evil supernatural entity who wishes to bring evil and hardship to one of God's servants? Future references in this paper to Satan understood in this way will use the term "evil Satan." Because of his dialogue here with God, it seems more likely that he holds the position of a spiritual being used by God to test his servants for the purpose of determining their faithfulness. Future references in this paper to Satan understood in this way will use the term "tester Satan." According to TDOT, "Torczyner believes that *hassattan* is a functionary in the celestial court. Just as the ancient Near Eastern kings had their own subjects watched, so also Yahweh has Satan – as "God's eyes" – roam about in the world checking on people's loyalty."[7]

---

[4] Ibid., 74.

[5] Claude F. Mariottini, "First and Second Chronicles," *Mercer Commentary on the Bible*, ed. Watson E. Mills and Richard F. Wilson (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995), 339.

[6] Elaine H. Pagels, *The Origin of Satan: The New Testament Origins of Christianity's Demonization of Jews, Pagans and Heretics*, video recording from the Westar Meeting, Spring 1995.

[7] Nielsen, 76.

The second passage that mentions Satan as a sort of supernatural being is in 1 Chr 21:1: "And Satan stood up against Israel, and incited David to count the people of Israel."[8] God had told Moses in Exod 30:12 that a census was not to be taken of the people unless God commanded it. Therefore David's action angered God to the point that he sent a plague upon Israel as punishment (v.14). However, it must be noted that this same story is retold in 2 Sam 24, but it reads, "Again the anger of the LORD was kindled against Israel, and he incited David against them, saying, 'Go, count the people of Israel and Judah.'" In this account it is the LORD, not Satan who provokes David to take the census. In the 1 Chronicles text, Satan's role is one of adversary. Satan suggests to David that he go against God's command. Satan's intentions for inciting David are not revealed, but it could be that he was sent within his "tester Satan" role in order to test David's faith and loyalty to God. One does not need to suppose that the Satan figure in this text possesses malicious intent.

The last place we see Satan named in the Old Testament is in Zec 3:1-2, "Then he showed me the high priest Joshua standing before the angel of the LORD, and Satan standing at his right hand to accuse him. Then the LORD said to Satan, 'The LORD rebuke you, O Satan! The LORD who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not this man a brand plucked from the fire?'" These verses are from the fourth vision of Zechariah. Here, as in Job, Satan plays the part of an accuser or adversary: "Satan opposes Joshua, but God supports the priest, forgives his sins, and provides him with new, expensive garments."[9] Berquist writes that this vision is meant to give support to Joshua and identifies "any political opposition to Joshua with the work of the accuser, Satan."[10] Von Rad understands *ha satan* as, "clearly... an accuser before a court, and more specifically as the heavenly public prosecutor and by no means as a demonic being."[11] Here again, we see Satan performing the role of testing one of God's servants. Throughout the Old Testament, God is described as a God of justice and righteousness (see Amos, for example). Therefore, it would make sense that for God to be a righteous judge he must hear both sides of a case. In this and the other passages, it appears that the task of presenting the prosecution's case against the defendant is fulfilled by "tester Satan."

---

[8] The New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) translation of scripture will be used unless otherwise indicated.

[9] Jon L. Berquist, "Zechariah," *Mercer Commentary on the Bible*, eds. Watson E. Mills and Richard F. Wilson (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995), 795.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Nielsen, 76.

Both 1 and 2 Chronicles are dated circa 400-350 BCE.[12] The best guess for the dating of Job is somewhere between 800-500 BCE.[13] Chapters 1-8 of Zechariah are believed to have been written in the late 500's BCE.[14] This dating places the composition of each of these passages after the event known as the exile. In Mariottini's commentary on 1 Chr 21, he suggests that the author of Chronicles intentionally changed the character that did the inciting from God to Satan (see the parallel account in 2 Sam 24) because of the influence of postexilic thought.[15] This information, along with the absence of any depiction of Satan as a fallen angel or malicious being in the Old Testament, leads to the conclusion that the concept of an "evil Satan" as an entity opposed to God is postexilic. So what happened during or after the exile that brought this new understanding?

Even without the presence of an "evil Satan" in the Old Testament there was still a sense of sin, ethics, and relationship with God. Although one could argue that a literal, "evil Satan" did exist prior to the exile and was simply not recognized, one must wonder about the theological implications of this concept. How is Christian belief shaped by belief or disbelief in a literal "evil Satan"? Would humans still sin if no Satan existed? One's response obviously depends on one's presuppositions, but a belief in human sinfulness seems to be independent of one's belief in Satan since one's views about sinfulness depend on one's views about *human beings* (free will, sinful human nature, etc.) rather than one's views concerning non-human entities. Another theological question: Is belief in a literal, "evil Satan" a necessary component of the Christian faith? One's response to this question also depends on one's presuppositions. If the heart of Christianity is viewed as based on an affirmation that Jesus is Lord, that he lived and died and rose from the grave, and that his death was a sacrifice to atone for the sin of man, then belief in a literal Satan does not seem to be an essential element.

The Exile and the Intertestamental Period

The Northern Kingdom of Israel was conquered by the Assyrians in 722 BCE.[16] Just over a hundred years later, the Southern Kingdom of Judah was conquered by the Babylonians in 586 BCE. The Babylonians were later

---

[12] Mariottini, 324.

[13] Samuel E. Balentine, "Job," *Mercer Commentary on the Bible*, eds. Watson E. Mills and Richard F. Wilson (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995), 405.

[14] Berquist, 793.

[15] Mariottini, 339.

[16] The following dates vary by author, but the dates in this paper which are connected to the exile and intertestamental period are based on the dates given by Michael J. Coogan in *A Brief Introduction to the Old Testament: The Hebrew Bible in its Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 327-329.

conquered by the Persians under the leadership of Cyrus the Great in 539 BCE. Cyrus freed the Jews and allowed them to return home in 538 BCE. This time during the exile was crucial to the development of theological thought for the Jews. Up to this point, the Hebrews generally had confidence in Yahweh's provision for his people. They had lived and prospered in the land he had given them (Josh 21:43). They developed a theological understanding that has come to be known as conventional wisdom. This is the theology described in books like Proverbs that carry the idea that good things happen to good people, and bad things happen to bad people. While this theological perspective was not entirely without problems in pre-exilic times, the exile was the event that really caused the people to rethink their whole theology. As Wray and Mobley point out, "The theodicy question… plays a prominent part in the story of Satan."[17] If Yahweh is a good God, a powerful God, and loves his people, why would he allow such terrible things to happen to them? The character of an "evil Satan" takes some of the blame off of God and lessens the perplexity of the theodicy question.

In the midst of the theological analysis that occurred following the exile as the Hebrews in captivity struggled to make sense of recent events, the Jews were introduced to other religions. One which had a particularly strong influence was Zoroastrianism. This religion was monotheistic, but at the same time was a dualistic religion which focused on the battle between the god Ahura Mazda and the spirit Spenta Mainyu.[18] This spirit represented evil, darkness, and lies, and was viewed as promoting falsehoods, disunity, wickedness, and imbalance in the cosmos.[19] Around the same time as their exposure to Zoroastrianism, non-canonical books such as Enoch were written. It was at this time that the concept of Satan as an archenemy of God appeared in Hebrew thought. 2 Enoch 31:4-5 states:

> 4 The devil is the evil spirit of the lower places, as a fugitive he made Sotona from the heavens as his name was Satanail (Satan), thus he became different from the angels, (but his nature) did not change (his) intelligence as far as (his) understanding of righteous and sinful (things). 5 And he understood his condemnation and the sin which he had sinned before, therefore he conceived thought against Adam, in such form he entered and seduced Eva (Eve), but did not touch Adam.[20]

---

[17]   T. J. Wray and Gregory Mobley, *The Birth of Satan : Tracing the Devil's Biblical Roots* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 3.

[18]   Miguel A. De La Torres and Albert Hernandez. *The Quest for the Historical Satan* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 66.

[19]   Ibid.

[20]   2 Enoch, Internet Archive: Community Texts, http://ia600305.us.archive.org/27/items/AllTheBooksOfEnochenoch1Enoch2Enoch3/AllBooksOfEnoch.pdf (accessed April 10, 2013).

This text, dated to sometime between the third century BCE and the first century CE, affirms not only Satan's role as a supernatural enemy of God, but also identifies him as the serpent in the garden of Eden.[21] This understanding continued to develop and became more popular within Judaism. The effects can be seen in the concept of Satan in the New Testament.

According to the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (TDNT), the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran (dated to the first century CE) refer to Satan as "Belial" and seem to have developed an understanding of him as an angel of darkness and the spirit of evil.[22] A dualistic theological perspective was part of this development related to Satan. Foerster states, "The world and men are under the sway of Belial, whom God and the righteous hate and who hates God and the righteous... Belial tries to overthrow the children of light; he oppresses and persecutes them, 1 QS 3:24."[23] In later Jewish writings, Foerster says that Satan/Belial is understood in a dualistic sense as the "one sovereign prince of the kingdom of darkness, beside whom there can be no other autonomous powers of evil."[24] Nothing is written in the Old Testament text about Satan as an evil entity, or Satan as the serpent as the Garden of Eden, or about Satan's fall from Heaven. However, these ideas are found in the pseudepigraphical writings found at Qumran and in some other Jewish writings.

Satan in the New Testament

The intertestamental period comes to a close in the first century CE. Some books/letters of the New Testament (e.g., the Pauline letters) are believed to have been written as early as 50 CE.[25] Most scholars consider the Gospel of Mark to be the earliest written gospel, and it is usually dated circa 65-70 CE. There are thirty-two references to Satan in the New Testament and thirty-four references to the devil. For the sake of length, this paper will specifically address Satan only as he is referenced in passages from the synoptic gospels, but reference will be made to how scholars perceive Satan throughout the entire New Testament. The reason for focus on the synoptic gospels is primarily to narrow the scope of exploration in this paper, but it is also rooted in the writer's desire to explore the character of Satan as he is understood by Jesus.

---

[21]   Patrick A. Tiller, "*Books of Enoch*," from *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. David Noel Freedman (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2000), 408.

[22]   Werner Foerster, "Satanas," *The Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed Geoffrey W. Bromiley, vol. 7 (Grand Rapids: Eerdman's Publishing, 1971), 153.

[23]   Ibid.

[24]   Ibid., 156.

[25]   "Appendix 8: Chronological Order of the Books of the New Testament," *Bible Study Tools*, http://www.biblestudytools.com/resources/guide-to-bible-study/order-books-new-testament.html (accessed April 12, 2013).

The name "Satan" in the New Testament is from the word *Satanas* (Σατανᾶς). It appears as though here, unlike in the Old Testament, the word for Satan is used exclusively to refer to a supernatural enemy of God and leaves no room for it to be understood as a sort of "accuser." His role has changed significantly, but he is still subservient to the power and will of God: in Luke 22:31, Satan *asks* if he can sift Peter as wheat, and he was apparently given permission to do so.

The word *devil* comes from the Greek word *diabolos* (διάβολος) and carries a similar idea that *satan* did in the Old Testament. According to the TDNT, *diabolos* means "to separate, accuse, repudiate, misrepresent, give false information, or deceive."[26] Whereas *satan* (an accuser) could hold a positive or negative role, it seems as though *diabolos* (an accuser, deceiver) has more of a negative connotation. Lenchak writes:

> When the Bible was translated into Greek, the Hebrew word satan was normally translated by the Greek word diabolos ("devil"), which added a connotation of malevolence to the Hebrew word: "an evil adversary," "a false accuser," "a slanderer or calumniator." Under the influence of this Greek word, *satan* changed to Satan (a proper name), and the servant of God became an opponent of God.[27]

Foerster also mentions this development. He says, "In the NT, as in Judaism, Satan is the accuser (Rev 12:10). Thus all the functions attributed to Satan in Judaism are found again in the NT. But they now culminate in a single, supernatural power and dominion of Satan to which demons and the whole of this aeon are basically subject."[28] As the reader can already see, the role of Satan is much more prominent in the New Testament than it was in the Old Testament. Not only does he have a larger role, but that role seems to consist of distinctly evil intentions. Kelly states:

> The most significant retro-fitting that has occurred in the history of Satan is the thoroughgoing re-interpretation of the Satan of the New Testament, identified with the various satanic figures of the Old Testament, as a rebel against God. More than any other, this interpretation has bedeviled the history of Satan, transforming him from a merely obnoxious functionary of the Divine Government into a personification of Evil – a personification that really exists as a person.[29]

---

[26]   Werner Foerster, "Diabolos," *The Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed Geoffrey W. Bromiley, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids: Eerdman's Publishing, 1964), 71.

[27]   Timothy A. Lenchak, "What's Biblical about… the Devil?" *Bible Today* 47, no. 4 (July 2009): 277-279. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed February 2, 2013), 277.

[28]   Foerster, "Diabolos," 80.

[29]   Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Satan: A Biography* (New York: Cambridge Uni. Press, 2006), 2.

Some scholars like Kelly believe that Satan's role in the New Testament is the same as it was in the Old Testament book of Job – he is the accuser – but his reputation is distorted to make him appear to be something he is not.[30] Others see the progression of the character of Satan in the New Testament as the *manifestation* of his character, meaning that the presence of Jesus caused Satan to show his true self.[31]

With sixty-six references to Satan/the devil in the New Testament – twenty-seven references just in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke – all cannot be covered in the length of this paper. Therefore, I have chosen three passages for exploration. The story called the *Temptation of Jesus*[32] is covered in each of the synoptic gospels (Matt 4:1-11; Mark 1:12-13; and Luke 4:1-13). In each account Jesus retreats to the wilderness after he has been baptized, begins a time of fasting, and encounters Satan. The accounts in Matthew and Luke are the most descriptive and portray three specific temptations: food/ physical satisfaction, power/proof he is God's son, and land/pride/loyalty to God. While it may appear blasphemous for Satan to tempt Jesus, it must also be pointed out that Christian doctrine recognizes Jesus on earth as fully God and fully human. As a human he endured the same testing that other humans do. In each passage Satan is depicted as fulfilling his God-appointed role as the accuser/adversary, or "tester Satan" rather than as "evil Satan."

Another passage, which has been titled *Jesus and Beelzebul* (Matt 12:22-32; Mark 3:19b-30; and Luke 11:14-23), describes an interaction between Jesus and the Pharisees which occurs after Jesus heals "a demoniac who was blind and mute" (Matt 12:22). The Pharisees believe that Jesus must have healed the man in the name of Beelzebul, the ruler of the demons. Jesus perceives their doubt and uses the logical explanation that it would be counterproductive for Satan (Jesus refers to Satan rather than Beelzubul) to cast out himself (vv.25-26).

Satan as an evil adversary is better illustrated in this passage than in the previous one. In this case, the "evil Satan" is represented by the name "Beelzebul," but Jesus indicates by his response in v.26 that this name refers to the same entity as Satan. He also indicates that Satan has his own kingdom, but it is not clear if he is referring to a kingdom such as hell or to the kingdom described as Satan's rule on earth. In the previously mentioned passage, one of the things that Satan uses to tempt Jesus is power over the earth – which Satan claims to have: "And the devil said to him, 'To you I will give their glory and all this authority; for it has been given over to me, and I give it to anyone I please.'" (Luke 4:6). Kelly recognizes that, "Jesus accepts this

---

[30]   Ibid.

[31]   G. C. Berkouwer, "Satan and the Demons," *Basic Christian Doctrines: Contemporary Evangelical Thought*, ed. Carl F.H. Henry (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 72.

[32]   The titles mentioned are those found in the New Revised Standard Version, 1989.

claim [to power] as true, but points out to his Disciples that, because of their activity Satan's power will come to an end (he will fall "like lightening")."[33] This interpretation also supports the idea of an "evil Satan" rather than just a heavenly position as accuser. Foerster agrees:

> Satan is the prince of this world. He can dispose of its kingdoms according to what he says in Lk. 4:6... The dominion of Satan over this world is primarily a dominion over men... A decisive view in the NT is that man cannot free himself from this yoke... The goal of Satan's activity is man's destruction in alienation from God.[34]

A third reference to Satan is found only in Matthew. The context of this passage is that Jesus is describing a scene of judgment where the Son of Man will divide the righteous from the unrighteous. Jesus describes the righteous as the ones who saw his need and thus gave him food, drink, shelter, clothing, and community, but the unrighteous ones saw the need and did not provide these necessities. The righteous are told to "Come... inherit the kingdom" (v.34) and the unrighteous are told to "depart into the eternal fire" (v.41). The passage is titled, *The Judgment of the Nations* and encompasses 25:31-46, but the focus for the purpose of this paper is verse 41, which says, "Then he will say to those at his left hand, 'You that are accursed, depart from me into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels." Most modern readers connect this concept of "eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels" to hell, which is understood to be populated by Satan and the other "fallen" angels. De La Torre and Hernandez address this verse in their book on the Historical Satan and point out that the New Testament references to hell are actually references to a literal geographical place called Gehenna (Heb. *ge ben Hinnom*) which had previously been a place of child sacrifice to Moloch.[35] Wyrick states that, "By NT times the idea of Gehenna had made a full transformation to an otherworldly place of future punishment for the wicked. The valley itself may have become a place where trash was dumped and burned, thus an "unclean" location."[36] The constant burning of the trash would also explain the frequent pairing of this place with fire and the use in this verse and others as a place of eternal fire.

For the most part, these examples can be understood in light of modern interpretations of the "evil Satan," but viewed critically they can also be understood in light of Satan, the God appointed adversary. This final passage, however, causes a bit of a problem to the latter understanding. If

---

[33] Kelly, 169.

[34] Foerster, "Diabolos," 79.

[35] De La Torre and Hernandez, 75.

[36] Stephen Von Wyrick, "Gehenna," from *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. David Noel Freedman (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2000), 489.

Satan is simply doing his job as the obedient servant of God, why would Jesus describe him as belonging in a specially prepared eternal fire? Perhaps this concept is simply a result of the first-century Jewish mindset. This explanation is the thesis of Kelly's book *Satan: A Biography*:

> The deterioration in the character of Satan that is in the Bible is simply the natural result of "unfavorable media attention," the sort of thing that happens to any unpopular character. The further deterioration that occurred in post-Biblical times, when Satan was finally construed as a rebel and outcast from the beginning, and eventually as a virtual anti-God, is merely an extension of this internal development.[37]

My view is that this perspective to too simplistic. Depending on one's attitude concerning the historical accuracy of the Gospels, this passage could be understood as the actual words of Jesus. Would Jesus support the theological mindset of an "evil Satan" if this were not an accurate characterization? This passage is apocalyptic, meaning it is describing events that will occur at the end of time, or in this case, when the Son of Man comes and sits on the throne. Granted, the only thing that Jesus is suggesting, according to the text, is that at this time of the judgment the unrighteous ones will be told to depart into the eternal fire – but he also states in the text that the fire was prepared for the devil and his angels. Perhaps the questions raised by this passage can be answered after more closely examining some of the modern interpretations of Satan.

Modern Views of Satan

So far, we have seen no horns, no pitchforks, and no red demons. So from where does our contemporary understanding of Satan come? How did this image of Satan become the most common depiction held by persons living today? The answer is that this portrait was the result of a long process of development. Images of dark powers, lords of the underworld, mythological characters, and creative illustrations have painted this portrait for us. De La Torre and Hernandez help shed light on a few of Satan's modern characteristics. Satan is often portrayed as similar to the Greek god Pan who had "hindquarters, cloven hooves, a goatee, wrinkled skin, and horns of a goat, representing indulgence in music, worldly pleasures, and sexuality."[38] They also discuss how Satan has been interpreted to be anything from a hideous, grotesque creature to a beautiful being of light.[39]

---

[37] Kelly, 4.

[38] De La Torre and Hernandez, 13-14.

[39] Ibid., 14.

Wray and Mobley discuss the origin of a few other characteristics. Poseidon's trident may be the origin of Satan's pitchfork.[40] The horns and tail were characteristic of the Canaanite god of the underworld named Habayu.[41] They also point out that, "Portrayals of Satan in Dante's epic poem *The Divine Comedy* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, literary works revered as sacred by the faith-filled but biblically ignorant masses, added definition to Satan's character and popularity."[42] The largest biblical codex is the so-called Codex Gigas.[43] This codex is dated circa AD 1204-30 and is commonly called the "Devil's Bible" because of the large portrait of a demon/devil-ish figure that takes up a whole page.[44] This figure has horns, scales, claws, pointy teeth, and appears to have been accented in colors of red and green.[45] Furthermore, according to the *Columbia Encyclopedia*:

> During the Middle Ages Satan acquired his familiar attributes in folktale—his hooves, his sulfurous odor, his horns, and, paradoxically, his polished, gentlemanly manners. Much of his appearance and many of his actions, however, can be traced back to the pre-Christian deities of Europe, such as the two-headed god Janus and a variety of Pan like nature and fertility deities. The Christian elaboration of the figure of Satan, fueled by the Dominicans and the papal bull of 1484, probably reached a peak during the 15th, 16th, and 17th cent.[46]

Another popular portrayal of Satan is displayed in many cartoons such as in Tom and Jerry or Looney Toons: a character must make a decision and suddenly both an angel and a devil pop up on his shoulders. The devil incites the character to make the "bad" choice and the angel encourages the character to make the "good" decision. This outlook can be traced all the way back to Origen in the late second or early third century CE. He argued that, "each individual is attended by two angels. When good thoughts arise in our hearts, they were suggested by the good angel. But if instead bad thoughts arise, then they were suggested by the evil angel."[47]

---

[40] Wray and Mobley, 91.

[41] Ibid., 92.

[42] Ibid., 2.

[43] Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, "The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration," Fourth Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 94.

[44] Ibid., 104.

[45] Ibid.

[46] "Satan," The Columbia Encyclopedia, http://ezproxy.gardner-webb.edu/login?qurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.credoreference.com/entry/columency/satan (accessed February 02, 2013).

[47] De La Torre and Hernandez, 16.

Christians who affirm the existence of a literal "evil Satan" must somehow explain his origin. One parallel question is, "If there is only one God, what kind of supernatural being is Satan?" The popular contemporary understanding traces the existence of Satan back to his "fall," before which he was an angel in the heavenly court. This role as an angel places him in the supernatural realm, while still leaving him below God in the hierarchy. The story goes that Satan (also called Lucifer) was a beautiful angel of light and because of his beauty became prideful and decided that he should have power over God. God is then said to have created hell as a dwelling place for Satan, an angel who has now been cast out (is "fallen"). A third of the angels of heaven are said to have rebelled against God and joined Satan in hell. This is an interesting story, but it is not found in the Bible. It is the result of a combination of two specific Old Testament Passages.

A passage of scripture from the Old Testament describes the fall of a character called the King of Tyre (Ezek 28:11-19). This king had everything he could ever want: he was "in Eden" (which means "delight" or "luxury") but he was prideful and he sinned.[48] Drinkard states:

> But like the first human couple, this ruler was brought down by pride (v.17). He became corrupted by all his possessions; he sinned, and committed violence. Therefore, like that first human couple, the king of Tyre was cast down and driven out (v.16); he was consumed with fire, and completely destroyed (vv.18-19).[49]

Tyre was a literal, geographical place located in the area of ancient Phoenicia or modern day Lebanon.[50] It is first mentioned chronologically in the Bible in Ps 83 and 87, and is referenced as being an ally of David and of Solomon.[51] Israel and Tyre were heavily involved in trade, especially of goods such as grain, oil, wine, precious metals, ivory, exotic animals, gold, and timber.[52] Another Old Testament passage interpreted by some scholars to refer to Satan is Isa 14:12-20. This passage describes the *Downfall of the King of Babylon*; it is also known as how the "son of Dawn" fell from Heaven (v.12). He became narcissistic and prideful and wanted to be powerful like God, but instead was "brought down to Sheol, to the depths of the Pit" (v.15). He was not allowed to be buried in a grave because of the bad things he had done:

---

[48] Joel F. Drinkard Jr., "Ezekiel," *Mercer Commentary on the Bible*, eds. Watson E. Mills and Richard F. Wilson (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995), 697.

[49] Drinkard, 697.

[50] Robert R. Stieglitz, "Tyre," from *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. David Noel Freedman (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2000), 1341.

[51] Ibid., 1342.

[52] Ibid.

"you have destroyed your land, you have killed people" (v.20). This passage is understood by some modern thinkers to also be a rendition of the fall of Satan. However, like Tyre, Babylon was a literal geographical kingdom that had a relationship with Israel. Perhaps the two most well-known kings were Hammurabi (1792-1750 BCE) from the First Dynasty and Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562 BCE) from the Neo-Babylonian dynasty.[53]   Nebuchadnezzar I was the king who was responsible for the "final sack of Jerusalem in 587."[54] Because of this military defeat over Israel, it would make sense that subsequent literary references to the patriarch and his kingdom were negative and filled with scorn.

The texts themselves give no indication that the characters mentioned in the passages from Ezekiel and Isaiah are referring to Satan. They mention only the fall of the indicated kings. So why are these stories tied to Satan? How did the kings of these literal locations become synonymous with Satan? According to the TDNT, this development did not occur until later Jewish writings such as the pseudepigraphical writings of Enoch and Wisdom of Solomon, and other circa first-century writings like those found in Qumran.[55] [56] One such writing has already been mentioned from the Intertestamental period: 2 Enoch 31:4-5. This passage also carries the idea that Satan was initially in the heavens but was not allowed to remain after his condemnation and sin.

John Watts' commentary on the passage in Isaiah sheds light on the application of this passage to Satan, "*Day Star* is *helel* in Hebrew, which is rendered as the name "Lucifer" in Latin. The Latin rendering explains why the poem has sometimes been taken to depict the fall of Satan from heaven after an unsuccessful revolt against the LORD."[57] *Lucifer* has come to be understood as Satan's name when he was an angel, but after his fall he was given the name of *Satan*.[58] The revolt and fall of Satan is also found by some interpreters in Rev 12:7-9. War broke out in Heaven, and Michael helped to defeat the dragon who is described as "the ancient serpent who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world" (v.9). This dragon is "thrown down to the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him." The writing of Revelation is dated to circa 81-96 CE, which places it in

---

[53]   David Vanderhooft, "Babylon," from *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. David Noel Freedman (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2000), 138.

[54]   Ibid., 139.

[55]   The TDNT says, "until the Rabb. (-> II, 78, n.44), Slav. En. 29:4f.; 31:4f., also Vit. Ad. 12-16, though it is presupposed in Wis. 2:24".

[56]   Foerster, "Diabolos," 155.

[57]   John D. W. Watts, "Isaiah," *Mercer Commentary on the Bible*, eds. Watson E. Mills and Richard F. Wilson (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995), 580.

[58]   De La Torre and Hernandez, 33.

the period when the predominant view of Satan was that of the "evil Satan." This perspective was further adopted by Origen, the scholar who suggested that this fall occurred before the creation of the world (Cosmos) and thus possibly occurred before the temptation of Adam and Eve.[59] Origen also connects Lucifer as the Angel of Light to Jesus' words in Luke 10:18 when he says, "I watched Satan fall from heaven like a flash of lightening."[60]

Are these later interpretations of the nature, character, and fall of Satan in scripture accurate or truly connected to reality? The answer is up to the reader. From an academic standpoint, it seems that the contact with other nations and the resulting cultural influences, combined with theological developments that occurred as Jews (and later, Christians) wrestled with how to explain events happening in their own time, led theologians in the first through third centuries to these interpretations. However, from a practical perspective, the fact that these elements were not present in most of the Old Testament scriptures does not mean that they are not accurate. While strange, and at times a bit odd, these interpretations are not completely unfounded and can be connected to scripture and logically understood.

We want answers for our theological questions, and these views concerning Satan are a part of some suggested answers. Perhaps the most unsettling theological question of all, and also possibly *the* reason for all these questions is this: If a literal "evil Satan" does not exist, then what is the origin of evil? Wray and Mobley suggest that "Perhaps the seeds of Satan were sown not by later Christian imagination, but in the beginning, with God, the self-proclaimed author of both good and evil."[61] God is understood in the Hebrew Bible as being almighty and everything that happens to humans is, as a result, the product of God's power. So is God the cause of suffering and injustice? As Wray and Mobley point out, this is a question of theodicy: "It seems reasonable to assume that God's people eventually find it difficult to synthesize a God who claims to love them while, at the same time, inflicts suffering and death upon them."[62] The belief in a literal "evil Satan" does answer, for some, the theodicy question, and perhaps that is why this understanding has become so popular. One could raise a question regarding whether belief in Satan truly resolves the theodicy question, however, since the fundamental questions regarding the goodness of God, the power of God, and the reality of evil are not fully resolved by such a belief.

In addition to the theodicy question, Wray and Mobley discuss the popularity of Satan as a result of society's seemingly addictive interest in Satan and all things dark. They point out that humans have a tendency

---

[59] Kelly, 194.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Wray and Mobley, 2.

[62] Ibid., 3.

to seek out ways to feel fear.[63] We love to watch horror movies, read novels of writers like Stephen King, read news stories, and find interest in stories about serial killers and topics such as overseas wars and conflicts.[64] Their book was published in 2005, but this understanding of human nature has only been magnified in the past nine years. Media is now overrun with movies about vampires, werewolves, zombies, witches, wizards, and even movies about children forced to fight one another to the death in the name of "peace." The teen fiction section of a bookstore is no different. The majority of books one finds there are stories of dark romance between humans and various supernatural creatures. Perhaps this interest in the dark unknown is not confined to the twenty-first century. If people have questions today with all the scholarship, technology, and books that are available, why would people not have had questions in the first century CE? How we answer these questions is going to be affected by our social surroundings and context, but this does not mean that truth cannot be found in their midst.

Conclusion

One thing about the biblical Satan remains consistent: his purpose is to create, or at least magnify a separation between God and man. His biblical role develops between the Old and New Testaments from a "tester Satan" to a more "evil Satan," and this change seems to be a result of theological developments in the intertestamental period. Satan, as he is described in scripture, is very different from the concept that we envision today, but these modern interpretations have some merit. Balancing the historical, academic, biblical, and spiritual elements of topics such as Satan is difficult, especially for me. I want to honor the scripture's authority, and historical evidence must also be seriously considered, but the modern understandings can be so deeply embedded that our conceptions are difficult to change. The physical characteristics that I have discussed are easily accepted as fictitious because they do not bear much weight in the grand scheme of the nature of Satan. The elements and implications of Satan as a fallen angel and especially of "evil Satan" are the most difficult to release, but why? Part of the answer could be that we do not like to be wrong, especially in reference to views that have been held for hundreds of years. But perhaps the true reason for not jettisoning them goes back to the theodicy question: If there is no "evil Satan," yet God is still a god of love and justice, how do we explain the evil and injustice in the world? As I stated previously, even without the presence of an "evil Satan" in the Old Testament there was still a sense of sin, ethics, and relationship with God. In addition, the themes of evil, injustice, and suffering are also part of

---

[63] Ibid., xvii.

[64] Ibid.

the Old Testament scriptures. Perhaps instead of focusing so much on Satan, we should shift our focus back to God. Satan is necessary neither for our existence nor our Christian faith. God, however, is necessary for both. He is the creator of all things, including Satan, no matter how one understands Satan and his role.

Bibliography

"Appendix 8: Chronological Order of the Books of the New Testament." *Bible Study Tools.* http://www.biblestudytools.com/resources/guide-to-bible-study/order-books-new-testament.html (accessed April 12, 2013).

Balentine, Samuel E. "Job." *Mercer Commentary on the Bible.* Eds. Watson E. Mills and Richard F. Wilson Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995.

Berkouwer, G. C. "Satan and the Demons." *Basic Christian Doctrines: Contemporary Evangelical Thought.* Ed. Carl F.H. Henry. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962.

Berquist, Jon L. "Zechariah." *Mercer Commentary on the Bible.* Eds. Watson E. Mills and Richard F. Wilson. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995.

Coogan, Michael J. *A Brief Introduction to the Old Testament: The Hebrew Bible in its Context.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

De La Torre, Miguel A. and Hernandez, Albert. *The Quest for the Historical Satan.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011.

Drinkard, Joel F. Jr. "Ezekiel." *Mercer Commentary on the Bible.* Eds. Watson E. Mills and Richard F. Wilson. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995.

Foerster, Werner. "Diabolos." *The Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Vol. 2. Grand Rapids: Eerdman's Publishing, 1964.

Foerster, Werner. "Satanas." *The Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Vol. 7. Grand Rapids: Eerdman's Publishing, 1971.

Kelly, Henry Ansgar. *Satan: A Biography.* New York: Cambridge Uni. Press, 2006.

Lenchak, Timothy A. "What's Biblical about...the Devil?" *Bible Today* 47, no. 4 (July 2009): 277-279. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed February 2, 2013).

Mariottini, Claude F. "First and Second Chronicles." *Mercer Commentary on the Bible.* Eds. Watson E. Mills and Richard F. Wilson. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995.

Metzger, Bruce M. and Ehrman, Bart D. "The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration." Fourth Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Nielsen, Arhus K. *"Satan."* From the Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Eds. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Vol. 14. Grand Rapids: Eerdman's Pub., 2004.

Pagels, Elaine H. *The Origin of Satan: The New Testament Origins of Christianity's Demonization of Jews, Pagans and Heretics.* Video recording from the Westar Meeting, Spring 1995.

"Satan." The Columbia Encyclopedia, http://ezproxy.gardner-webb.edu/login?qurl =http%3A%2F%2Fwww.credoreference.com/entry/columency/satan (accessed February 02, 2013).

Stieglitz, Robert R. "Tyre." From *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible.* Ed. David Noel Freedman. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2000.

Tiller, Patrick A. "Enoch, Books of." From *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible.* Ed. David Noel Freedman. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2000.

Vanderhooft, David. "Babylon." From *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible.* Ed. David Noel Freedman. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2000.

Von Wyrick, Stephen. "Gehenna." From *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. David Noel Freedman. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2000.

Watts, John D. W. "Isaiah." *Mercer Commentary on the Bible.* Eds. Watson E. Mills and Richard F. Wilson. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995.

Wray, T. J. and Gregory Mobley. *The Birth of Satan : Tracing the Devil's Biblical Roots.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

2 Enoch. Internet Archive: Community Texts. http://ia600305.us.archive.org/27/ items/AllTheBooksOfEnochenoch1Enoch2Enoch3/AllBooksOfEnoch.pdf (accessed April 10, 2013).

The Nazi Self-Image in
Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will*

Sara Plummer Grubb

One historian has made the claim that "Hitler's triumphs as an orator are incomprehensible if one simply summarizes the content of his texts."[1] If this is true of the Führer himself, it is equally true of the triumph of Nazi propaganda that is Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will*. Commissioned personally by Hitler after he had seen her 1932 film *The Blue Light*, *Triumph* was meant to be more than a simple documentary. Hitler's vision was for Riefenstahl to produce an aesthetic masterpiece. If one were to merely describe the events depicted in the film, or to read a transcript, the film would probably seem inconsequential or even boring. It would be unlikely, however, for a person to come away from a viewing of the film with the same conclusion. Riefenstahl's depiction of the 1934 Nazi Party rally at Nuremberg imbues the occasion not only with significance but also with dynamism. The film reinforces the importance of the Nazi movement while also adding a sense of vitality to its proceedings.

It is important to dispel the notion that *Triumph of the Will* is merely a historical document, as its director often suggested. The film must be understood as a *production* rather than a mere chronicle of the events of the Nuremberg rally. For example, the film does not present the events of the rally in chronological order but by its seamless editing suggests that it does. David B. Hinton has constructed a chart that shows the relationship between the ordering of events in the film and the actual rally program, which shows, for instance, that the review of the army (September 10) appears immediately before the evening rally (September 7) in the film, even though it actually took place three days after.[2] In addition, though Riefenstahl often attempted to claim she spent little time on the film and that it was simply the result of a mere "six days" of work, much evidence has surfaced from others involved

---

[1]   Pierre Ayçoberry, *The Social History of the Third Reich, 1933-1945*, trans. Janet Lloyd (New York: The New Press, 1999), 68.

[2]   David B. Hinton, "*Triumph of the Will*: Document or Artifice?" *Cinema Journal* 15, no. 1 (Autumn 1975), 56.

in the filmmaking that this was simply not the case.[3] Not only did she know about the assignment months in advance and extensively plan for it during that time, but she also spent months afterward editing the film, which was not released until the end of March 1935, nearly five full months after the actual rally.[4] She had also already completed one rally film for the Nazi Party the previous year (*Victory of Faith*), which gave her the advantage of familiarity with the location and ample opportunity to hone her technique.[5]

This film is in no way a hastily assembled documentary of a merely historical event. Ayçoberry aptly calls Riefenstahl's films for the party "stage-managed representations of the stage-management of the party."[6] The final product that the film became was no accident. The events themselves and the way they were to be presented in the film were heavily planned down to the last detail in order to convey a particular image about the Nazi movement. Not only this, but because *Triumph of the Will* was personally commissioned by Hitler for propagandistic reasons, and the rally itself strictly organized by the Nazi Party, the film provides clues about how the Nazi movement viewed both itself and its mission in 1934 when the film was made. An analysis of the film suggests that the Nazi movement viewed itself as an invincible force, guided by an extraordinary and heroic leader, that would restore Germany to greatness while also unifying its people in the Volk with an emphasis on traditional German values and legacies.

Background

To understand the content of the film and its significance, it is important to be aware of the context in which it was created. The year 1934 was both eventful and complicated for Hitler and the Nazi Party. Two events during the summer of that year both increased Hitler's power as leader of Germany and influenced the tone of the September rally and the film that documented it. First, Hitler made the complicated decision to "purge" the leadership of the SA as tensions with leader Ernst Röhm came to a head. Hitler personally shot Röhm and had several others killed in the bloody event known as the Night of the Long Knives. The Party staged a putsch to create the illusion that they were merely doing their duty to Germany by putting down a radical element, but in reality the event was intended to curb the ambitions of the SA, which Hitler had used to assist him in coming into

---

[3] Steven Bach, *Leni: The Life and Work of Leni Riefenstahl* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 131.

[4] Bach, 138.

[5] Alan Marcus, "Reappraising Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will*," *Film Studies*, no. 4 (Summer 2004), 78.

[6] Ayçoberry, 71.

power but no longer needed to the same degree now that he had attained the chancellorship and had the chance to have the army (and of course the SS) on his side. While one might expect there to be a negative public response to such violence, Kershaw notes that Hitler's decision actually resulted in "a sharp increase in his popularity."[7] In fact, "Hindenburg praised Hitler's actions from his deathbed as 'gallant personal intervention' that 'rescued the German people from great danger.' "[8] Some Germans even thought that Hitler's actions were not tough enough. Kershaw points out that, while the supportive attitudes of German citizens may seem disturbing, it must be recognized that most of the German population would not have been aware of the escalating power struggles between Hitler and his lackeys in the SA, nor would they have been in a position to realize that the "putsch" was a fabrication.[9]

The second power-imparting event for Hitler that summer was the death of President Hindenburg in August. His death "provided the propaganda machine with a further opportunity to exploit the great prestige of the deceased in the interests of the Nazi regime."[10] After elaborate (and greatly exaggerated) statements were made about the momentous contribution of Hindenburg to the National Socialist movement, Hitler merged Hindenburg's now vacant office of president with his own office of chancellor to centralize further the power over Germany in his own hands. The primary change enacted by this merge was more in title and appearance of power than in Hitler's particular duties. Hindenburg was not an obstacle in any aspect other than name to Hitler's increasing power: He "had done little to check Hitler's activities in the first year and a half of Nazi rule."[11] The primary difference was that the people's focus and loyalty was now to be concentrated on one person. Rather than the abstract idea of *the government*, the focus would instead be centralized in *the leader*. This event and the purge of the SA increase Hitler's hold on Germany and have implications for the content of the film and its primary purpose in the eyes of the Nazis.

Following this context, it was important for the film to reassure the German public of the stability of the Nazi movement following such upheaval, as well as communicate the authority and capability of Germany's now fully supreme leader. In a sense, *Triumph of the Will* can be understood as a sort of "replacement" of Riefenstahl's 1933 rally film, *Victory of Faith*.[12]

---

[7]   Ian Kershaw, *The "Hitler Myth": Image and Reality in the Third Reich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 66.

[8]   Bach 129.

[9]   Kershaw, 85.

[10]   Kershaw, 67.

[11]   Doris L. Bergen, *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 73.

[12]   Marcus, 78.

The earlier film, in which Röhm had played a significant role, was suppressed and many copies destroyed after the purge, largely because of the depiction of the closeness between Röhm and Hitler, who often appeared side-by-side. It was also important for the new film to reaffirm the unity of the Nazi Party after the purge of what were formerly considered loyal members. Indeed, "After the troubled summer, the film aimed to demonstrate strength and unity – strength of determined will in overcoming all obstacles and ultimately triumphing; unity of Party and people in their bond of loyalty to the Führer."[13] The film also needed to depict Hitler in a particular light: "It was no longer a mere rally film, but a vehicle to apotheosize Hitler as absolute leader and make him safe for Germany as successor to the revered Hindenburg."[14] These two needs of the Nazi movement–to present the party as strong and unified following the summer's unrest and to present Hitler as Germany's singular leader – colored the planning of the rally and production of the film.

Another essential component to a complete understanding of the film involves the Nazi opinion about propaganda and the use of film propaganda specifically. The Nazis believed that propaganda is most successful when it appeals to emotion rather than reason, utilizes the repetition of images and symbols to convey a central idea[15], and is omnipresent in society, influencing all areas of life.[16] For Hitler, the creation of a like-minded Volk required more than politics–it was "an aesthetic task,"[17] which gave visual propaganda, including film, a key role. The Department of Film, set up by Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels in 1933, had the role of overseeing the production and distributions of films, both entertainment flicks and documentaries.[18] Though Goebbels provided particular funding for "filmmakers who spoke the language of National Socialism," there was significant freedom under the department for entertaining "escapist" pictures so long as filmmakers avoided political issues.[19] In addition to its general duties, the Film Department also had the task of supervising propaganda and documentary films for Germany; however, the number of explicit propaganda films was few, and those that were produced tended to be mediocre at best.[20]

Riefenstahl's film was an exception to this norm. Fischer calls Riefenstahl's *Triumph* and her later film documenting the 1936 Olympic

---

[13] Kershaw, 69.

[14] Bach, 131.

[15] Klaus P. Fischer, *Nazi Germany: A New History* (New York: Continuum, 1995), 173.

[16] Ernest K. Bramsted, *Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda: 1925-1945* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1965), 49.

[17] Ayçoberry, 75.

[18] Bramsted, 65.

[19] Fischer, 373.

[20] Bramsted, 67.

Games "the only great artistic masterpieces of Nazi propaganda."[21] The fact that there were so few propaganda films produced, and even fewer of good quality, indicates the importance of Riefenstahl's film in the Nazi propaganda campaign. In addition, the support at Riefenstahl's disposal, such as a production crew of more than 170 individuals, was "not unusual for a major studio film but was unprecedented in reality-based filmmaking anywhere in the world, signaling the importance of the project and Leni's stature."[22] Importance was also imparted to the film by Hitler's own vision: "I don't want a boring Party rally film; I don't want newsreel shots. I want an artistic visual document."[23] This again attests to the fact, as mentioned earlier, that Riefenstahl set out not merely to document history, but to make an already meaningful political event visually gripping to the German audience.

Now that a foundation has been established upon which to understand the historical origins of the film and the Nazi principles of propaganda that made it a possibility, it is time to turn to the film for answers about the Nazi movement's understanding of itself and its mission. The film presents an image of Nazism as a powerful movement with a concentrated force in its singular leader and a mission intent on bringing greatness and unity to the German people through emphasizing true "Germanness" in the recognition of the great German traditions of the past.

The Nazi Movement as an Irresistible Force

In *Triumph of the Will* the Nazi movement presents itself as having immense power and influence in all aspects of German life. Even the word *triumph* in the title sets up the tone of conquest that pervades the film. The image of the movement as an irresistible force, overpowering to its enemies both local and abroad, is achieved through the portrayal of the movement's huge following, repeated symbols that convey strength and power, and the absence of oppositional elements.

In the film, the Nazi movement portrays itself as having such an enormous following that it would be overwhelming to any opposition. The rally itself was "choreographed" to convey "unanimity and invincibility so that any opponents of the system would feel isolated and helpless."[24] One way this is achieved in the film is in the crowd scenes. For example, during Hitler's motorcade through the city images of the crowd are interwoven with images of Hitler and swastika images, effectively "Nazifying" the crowd, implicating everyone present as equally supportive of the movement and

---

[21] Fischer, 373.

[22] Bach, 133.

[23] Qtd. in Marcus, 81.

[24] Bergen, 75.

not differentiating between the enthusiastic fans and the merely curious onlookers. In many of the crowd scenes throughout the film, special lenses are used to make the crowd look more "packed" than it really was: "Although hundreds of thousands of people attended the Nuremberg rally, Riefenstahl's telephoto lens often magnifies those numbers by compressing and welding the crowds together cinematically, thereby conveying the ideological point that the masses are closer together (united) and solidly behind their chancellor."[25] Thus the illusion of widespread public support is created. Whether this support was sincere or staged is immaterial to the message the film presents.

The recurring use of the Nazi salute in the film is also emblematic of the party's image of itself as powerful and irresistible. Historians note that after the Nazi ascendency to power, everyone in society seemed to be using the salute, and to outsiders it was unclear whether they were avid supporters of the movement or simply compliant. Fritzsche explains, "Much of the power of Nazism rested on the appearance of unanimity, which overwhelmed non-believers and prompted them to scrutinize their own reservations."[26] In the film as it was in the streets, ascertaining the degree of authenticity this outward sign indicates is impossible, and so the "appearance of unanimity" is all that is necessary to suggest the force behind the movement. As this gesture became symbolic of support for the movement as a whole, it became "both propaganda and coercion."[27] Its appearance in the film draws upon its place in society. Viewers would have been likely to understand the message of unanimous support for Nazism conveyed by the sea of raised arms and *heils*. This sort of "pageantry" was as much an indication of strength as the violence of the movement – the important thing was to "create an image of unanimity that itself worked to prevent opposition."[28] It is important to make the distinction between actual evidence of support and the Nazis' efforts to *show* undisputed support, whether it was actually present or not. *Triumph of the Will* harnesses the latter of these two for its demonstration of power.

Other indications of the Nazi movement's image of itself as a powerful force to be reckoned with are apparent in the symbolism of the film. Images of the eagle, a prominent symbol of the Third Reich and the German nation in general, appear frequently throughout the film, the first time being in the very opening – a pure black screen transitions sharply into the image of an

---

[25] Frank P. Tomasulo, "The Mass Psychology of Fascist Cinema: Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will*," in *Documenting the Documentary: Close Readings of Documentary Film and Video*, ed. Barry Keith Grant and Jeannette Sloniowski, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 102.

[26] Peter Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich*, (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 24.

[27] Kershaw, 60.

[28] Bergen, 67.

eagle statue and the text of the film's title. The eagle is gripping a swastika, another Nazi symbol repeated throughout the film. Like the eagle, the swastika appears everywhere: it is draped out of windows, hung from buildings, imprinting on clothing, printed on giant flags flown high over crowds. The symbols themselves are literally bigger than the individual, indicating that the ideas they represent are as well. And, similar to the crowd scenes, the repetition of the swastika symbol creates an overwhelming notion of assent for the Nazi movement. Both the larger-than-life size and the recurrence of the image contribute to the impression of Nazism as an irresistible force, attracting the entire population with intensity of its following.

The Movement's Extraordinary Leader

Ian Kershaw writes, "From beginning to end, her film concentrated so exclusively on Hitler, that even his closest paladins stood completely in his shadow, reduced to the level of film extras."[29] *Triumph of the Will* clearly demonstrates that the centrality of Hitler as leader of Germany and his characterization as heroic and unique was a key aspect of the Nazi movement's self-image when the film was created. As noted previously, it was all the more vital to emphasize Hitler's importance and his capability following his merging of the offices of chancellor and president after the death of Hindenburg.

In the film, Riefenstahl utilized but certainly did not create the image of Hitler as an exceptional leader. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler himself propagated an image of himself as extraordinary: "His autobiographical impressions are primarily aimed at creating the mythology of a common man who rose from humble yet respectable circumstances and reluctantly abandoned his artistic career in favor of saving Germany from its enemies."[30] He is at the same time average in origin yet extraordinary in ability and destiny. In addition to Hitler's own perpetuation of himself as remarkable yet relatable, Goebbels, too, worked hard over the years to create and maintain this image. As soon as he rose to the chancellorship, Hitler was painted by Nazi propaganda as a unique leader who was exactly what Germany needed. This image of Hitler is maintained and expanded in *Triumph of the Will*.

From the very first scene of the film, which "indelibly sets the metaphoric mood for everything that follows,"[31] Hitler is constructed as an exalted and laudable führer. As many interpreters of the film have noted, he literally descends from the clouds like a god as his plane flies into Nuremburg. This imagery is "replete with Christian iconography"[32] and "unmistakably

---

[29] Kershaw, 69.

[30] Fischer, 165.

[31] Bach, 135.

[32] Tomasulo, 103.

messianic"[33] as Hitler comes out of clouds like the Son of Man in the New Testament. By positioning Hitler as a Christ-figure, the film positions him as the savior of Germany, coming to restore order and distinction to a country torn by a world war and left in shambles by harsh terms of peace. This positioning is significant because "the deification of Hitler…provides the film's subtext for the legitimization of his rule."[34]

After the plane lands, shots of it coming to a stop are interspersed with shots of the excited crowd anticipating the arrival of their great leader. The excitement of the crowd is tangible to the viewer of the film and demonstrates that the public adoration of Hitler was important to the image that the National Socialists intended to display in the film. Tomasulo observes: "One shot is repeated several times: a medium shot or close-up that shows *der Fuhrer* stable and solid, centered in the frame, arm upraised in a *Sieg Heil* posture, while the people along the route are an amorphous, out-of-focus blur."[35] This image communicates the strength and permanence of Hitler, "the Leader," bringing stability to Germany. In addition to being a beloved and capable leader, Hitler is also constructed as a celebrity by the film. The style Riefenstahl employs here diverges greatly from what is typical for documentaries and instead resembles more closely the techniques used in fictional films, and Bach calls this opening sequence "one of the most elaborate star entrances in film history."[36]

The editing of Hitler's motorcade through the city punctuates images of Hitler with images of the crowd, particularly focusing on women and children, who offer their gaze of respect and admiration to their leader. One shot, so staged it becomes comic, is included in which even a cat on a windowsill turns its head towards Hitler as he passes by. This is obviously a contrived shot, but it demonstrates the intentionality with which the film attempts to depict Hitler as remarkable, so much so that even nature itself stops to look at him. Hitler is also portrayed as adored and respected not only by the Germany citizenry but also by high-ranking Nazi leaders. At various points in the film, the German salute and the repetition of the phrase "Mein Führer" comes from all levels of society and suggests allegiance to Hitler from the lowest to the highest ranks. The use of "mein" connotes a personal connection to the leader. Indeed, the sections of the film that feature the Hitler Youth and the Labor Front men portray Hitler as someone to be imitated and as a type of father figure to the youth.

Hitler is also equated with Germany in the film. Sometimes this is stated explicitly, such as when Hess proclaims, "Hitler is Germany, just as Germany is Hitler!" But it also appears in the film implicitly. For example,

---

[33] Bach, 136.

[34] Marcus, 78.

[35] Tomasulo, 104.

[36] Bach, 136.

more than once Hitler's face is on the screen when the word "Germany" is being said, creating in the viewer's mind an implicit connection between the two things. The editing of the film is also employed in other ways to produce certain perceptions of Hitler. It is often the case that backlighting is used for shots of Hitler, which gives a halo-like aura around him and also lightens his hair, making him appear more "Aryan."[37] At the Labor Corps Rally, there is one shot of Hitler standing upright in full profile in the center of the frame with the crowd in the background of the image and unfocused. This posture conveys strength and stability of Hitler while the haziness of the background deemphasizes the power of the masses. There are also a multitude of shots that pit Hitler against an open sky or clouds, which has the same effect as the opening sequence, communicating a divine quality.[38] Furthermore, Hitler is almost exclusively viewed through an upward-tilting camera lens. This not only recreates the upward gaze of the crowd, placing the audience of the film in the crowd's position, but it also confers power and high standing to the Leader, who literally appears above all other individuals.

In one of the most famous scenes of the film, Hitler's entrance to the ceremony to honor those who died in the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch, he walks at the top point of a triangle of men, the leaders of the SA and SS following behind at the lower points of the triangle. This position is meant to suggest not only Hitler's control over the SA and SS but also his place at a zenith over the party and Germany as a whole. To the sides are orderly rows of uniformed Nazis, representing the masses at Hitler's disposal. This striking screenshot conveys the power of the Nazi movement while imparting even greater power on its leader. The camera captures this scene from above, and indeed this perspective "is the only one that makes visual sense for a ceremonial that was visually meaningless at ground or even stadium level and is key testimony to the rally's having been designed as much for its photogenic potential as for its participants."[39] This fact attests again to the production of the rally and the film – had the film been intended to merely document history, such great lengths to structure events to be seen from an aerial view would not have been necessary. As this section of the film illustrates, the film was created with a certain image of the Nazi movement in mind, and that image was based on the movement's own understanding of itself. Particularly, the image of the Führer it presents is significant for the appearance of devotion from the people and the extraordinary capabilities of leadership he is shown to possess.

Interestingly, Hitler portrays himself as extraordinary and heroic when he addresses the public – in his posture, in the level and pitch of his voice, and in non-verbal gestures. Ayçoberry notes that the *words* of Hitler's

---

[37]   Tomasculo, 104.

[38]   Tomasulo, 104.

[39]   Bach, 134.

speeches were not that impressive; it was the way he *delivered* them that was significant. He also outlines a rhythm to Hitler's speeches. They tend to start out slow and quiet, then move into exaggerated gesturing and bursts of shouting. Hitler delivers his speeches with "the posturing of a puppet, exaggerated – so as to be visible from afar – and bursts of shouting [which] were greeted with wild applause."[40] The end of the speech brings a return back to calm. This pattern can be understood as mirroring the experience of National Socialism: "The parabolic movement of his speech symbolically reproduced the movement's entire history: an emotional evocation of the years of struggle, execration of its enemies, then calm satisfaction with the present successes."[41] Though Ayçoberry's observation regards Hitler's speeches in general, it is especially true of those appearing in *Triumph of the Will*, his closing speech of the rally being a prime example. The way Hitler presents himself as a speaker, and the way that presentation is captured in *Triumph*, conveys Hitler's greatness to not only his immediate audience but also to viewers of the film. Moreover, this depiction is intentional and calculated by Hitler and the Nazi Party. Within the film is mirrored Hitler's own understanding of his exceptionality as a leader.

Restoring Greatness and Unity to Germany

The Nazi movement did not understand itself as merely another political option among the many on the ballot. Nazism viewed itself as a force to unite all Germans by reminding them of what "Germanness" truly is. It saw itself as a movement for all (true German) people at all levels of society, and thus its mission was to bring unity to the nation. Another item on the Nazi agenda was to restore Germany to its former greatness. The opening text of *Triumph of the Will* declares that at the time of the Nuremberg Rally it had been "Twenty years after the outbreak of the World War; sixteen years after the beginning of our suffering; nineteen months after the beginning of the German renaissance." The event from "nineteen months" prior was Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, when the Nazi Party official came in to power, which is called a "renaissance." From this text alone it is clear that the Party viewed itself as a rebirth of everything that once was right with Germany in the (often glorified) past, and as an antithesis to everything that became wrong with Germany following the World War and the crimes of the "backstabbers" in the republic. The inclusion of this prolog explicitly connects German history to the present, and it confers significance on the Nazi movement, positioning as its "mission" the restoration of Germany after crisis.

---

[40] Ayçoberry, 68.

[41] Ibid.

In addition to portraying Nazism's mission of restoring greatness to Germany, the film also depicts the greatness already in Germany via scenes of the city of Nuremburg. In "The City Awakening" portion of the film, wide-angled camera views display the brilliant medieval architecture, the modern industrial factories, and the natural elements of the city. Here, a shot of the ancient Nuremburg church connects to historic Germany, and the industrial elements connect to the present, all while beautiful views highlight German landscape. This combination of shots, all pointing to greatness of Germany in its many facets, connects modern Germany to the great German tradition. The connection to the German tradition is also shown in the very next scene, showcasing the Folk Parade in which folk music and costumes evoke nostalgia for traditional "Germanness." The inclusion of these explicitly "German" elements indicates the great emphasis of the Nazi movement on unifying the nation through ancient traditions. At several points in the film, "The vertical banners of the party festivals would stand out against the gothic and baroque curves of ancient buildings,"[42] explicitly connecting Nazi ideals to the magnificent architecture of Nuremburg. The concept of German "greatness" and its connection to Nazi ideology are not ends in themselves, but instead they are means by which to unify Germany.

Marcus notes that "The film's great value for its intended audiences is its demonstration of the constructive and robust power of the collective –enthusiastically asserting how a collective spirit can embolden and make productive a people, for the common good of a Germany united behind one leader and one ideology."[43] One of the ways the film achieves this has already been mentioned – the crowd scenes. The same scenes that convey the overwhelming strength and unanimity of the Nazi movement also convey a unity of the German people. For example, the bird's eye view of the ceremony to honor the dead shows crowds of party members standing in blocks surrounding the entering leader, symbolizing their unity under allegiance to one powerful führer. In another instance (and in one very rehearsed scene[44]), at the Labor Corps Rally individual workers call out names of their regions, which conveys a sense that they are all part of one unified whole. Similarly, in the scene in which the Hitler Youth are getting ready for the day – part of the City Awakening sequence – Tomasulo notes, "These images . . . are notable for the consistency of costume, activity, and facial reaction. A unity of national purpose is thereby established through the clothing, action, and countenances of the beaming young people."[45] All of these well-ordered images convey a sense of unity and order among the Nazi Party, and it is clear that this is precisely the image that the film was created to put forth.

[42] Ayçoberry, 70.

[43] Marcus, 84.

[44] Bach, 137.

[45] Tomasulo, 106.

Conclusion

An analysis of *Triumph of the Will* demonstrates the complexity of the Nazi movement's self-image the year after the movement gained complete power over Germany. The film expounds a Nazism that characterizes itself as powerful, capable of superb leadership, and as inheriting a mission to restore German greatness from ages past by unifying its people in the Volk. However, the film does not present the totality of the Nazi movement's understanding of itself and its mission. At least one grave element is left out. Having not yet legalized persecution of the Jews with the Nuremburg Laws which would come in 1935, the film is not explicit about the prejudices it carries embedded within its ideologies. The film provides a view of the Nazi movement's self-image in 1934, but perhaps had the film been made one or two or three years later, the image that Nazism chose to display to the public would have been decidedly more grim.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Hitler, Adolf. *Mein Kampf*. Translated by Ralph Manheim. 1925; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971.

Riefenstahl, Leni. *Leni Riefenstahl: A Memoir*. Translated by [cannot find]. Reprint, New York: Picador USA, 1995.

Triumph of the Will. DVD. Directed by Leni Riefenstahl. 1935; Bloomington, IL: Synapse Films, 2001.

Secondary Sources

Ayçoberry, Pierre. *The Social History of the Third Reich, 1933-1945*, translated by Janet Lloyd. New York: The New Press, 1999.

Bach, Steven. *Leni: The Life and Work of Leni Riefenstahl*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007.

Barsam, Richard M., *Film Guide to Triumph of the Will*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975.

Bergen, Doris L. *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003.

Bramsted, Ernest K. *Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda: 1925-1945*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1965.

Fischer, Klaus P. *Nazi Germany: A New History*. New York: Continuum, 1995.

Fritzsche, Peter. *Life and Death in the Third Reich*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008.

Herzstein, Robert, Edwin. *The War That Hitler Won: Goebbels and the Nazi Media Campaign*. New York: Paragon House Publishers, 1987.

Hinton, David B. *The Films of Leni Riefenstahl*. 3rd ed. Lanhan, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2000.

———. "*Triumph of the Will*: Document or Artifice?" *Cinema Journal* 15, no. 1 (Autumn 1975): 48-57.

Kater, Michael H. *Hitler Youth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Kershaw, Ian. *The "Hitler Myth": Image and Reality in the Third Reich.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Marcus, Alan. "Reappraising Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will.*" *Film Studies*, no. 4 (Summer 2004): 75-86.

Tomasulo, Frank P. "The Mass Psychology of Fascist Cinema: Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will.*" In *Documenting the Documentary: Close Readings of Documentary Film and Video,* edited by Barry Keith Grant and Jeannette Sloniowski, 99-118. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998.

The Bible in Popular Culture:
Genesis 3 and the Relationship Between
Edward and Bella in *Twilight*

Molly Law

Introduction

Popular culture creates romances and love stories that are alluring to many women, but they are not always healthy or realistic. Edward and Bella's relationship in the movie *Twilight* reveals Adam and Eve's shared sin and consequences as something to be desired when actually it is a distortion of creation. Pop-culture re-interprets biblical themes and often re-defines them for society.

In Genesis 3, known as The Fall, Eve is tempted by a serpent to eat of the fruit that would "open her eyes" to what God knows: the knowledge of good and evil. Both Eve and Adam eat the forbidden fruit, and God declares the consequences,[1] "'I will greatly increase your pains in childbearing; with pain you will give birth to children. Your desire will be for your husband and he will rule over you.'"[2] The curses that are given for Adam and Eve's disobedience seem to be few, but they manifest into many imperfections and distortions in life. A shift occurs between Adam and Eve's relationship in the garden before and after they disobey. God curses their relationship; in one way he says that their respect, love, and equality will be distorted. Another is when God says, "Your desire will be for your husband and he will rule over you." Eve will be dependent on Adam; with physical desire, survival, and emotional attachment.

Popular culture promotes an obsessive, controlling, and dependent love. This is revealed in the popular novels and movies, The *Twilight* saga. Edward, a blood sucking vampire, and Bella, an average high school student, become tangled in a love affair that many young teens and women idolize. It is seen in Genesis 3 that this is a distortion of how a relationship between a man and woman was intended be, but pop-culture is championing the relationship that Bella and Edward have in the *Twilight* saga.

---

[1] Genesis 3: 4-5.

[2] Genesis 3:16.

Eve's Choice and Consequence

It is easy to see what was lost in a relationship between a man and a woman when sin entered the world from what they had in the garden. In the Garden of Eden, Eve was not in subordination to Adam. According to Phyllis Trible in her article "Depatriarchalizing in Biblical Interpretation" she says that Eve was a helper. The Hebrew word for helper is, 'ezer', which means, "Beneficial relationship that does not imply inferiority."[3] She says, "Male embodies female and female embodies male."[4] Man and woman were equal and Eve was a woman who was her own person, who had a loving husband that loved and desired her and vice versa, in a healthy and perfect relationship.

The Consequence

The life courses of both man and woman are warped by this judgment, for with a stroke the simple and equal relationship of partners is ended.[5]

This all changed when Adam and Eve chose to open their eyes and to become more like God, knowing both good and evil. Unfortunately, they received their wish and now a wonderful relationship has changed. God cursed Eve with a desire for her husband and her subordination to him. Sibley Towner in *Genesis* says, "Man to rule over you. 'Remember that this sentence is not found in Genesis 1-2, which describe the way things were meant to be, but in Genesis 3, which describes the way things came to be after human relationships with God and each other experienced brokenness and alienation.'"[6] In the New Oxford Annotated Bible, Michael Coogan says that maturing, civilized humans moved from a connectedness established in Genesis 2 to a damaged connection between God, man, woman, and earth.[7] He says that Adam and Eve started the disintegration of the connection that they had between them.[8] God says in Genesis 3:15, "I will put enmity between you and the woman…"[9] Enmity means, "a feeling or condition of

---

[3] Trible, Phyllis., "Depatriarchalizing in Biblical Interpretation." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion,* 41 (1973): 40.

[4] Ibid., 42.

[5] Sibley W. Towner, *Genesis* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 48.

[6] Ibid., 47.

[7] Michael D. Coogn, ed, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version with the Apocrypha.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 14.

[8] Ibid., 15.

[9] Genesis 3:15.

hostility; hatred; ill will; animosity; antagonism."[10] Along with enmity for each other, man will now rule over woman. Trible says, "This statement is not a license for male supremacy but rather it is a condemnation of that very pattern. Subjugation and supremacy are perversions of creation."[11] She says that this subordination and subjugation is a consequence for their shared sin. A relationship of mutuality and equality is now ruined, with the curse of woman's desire for her husband. The imperfections that are in relationships now reflect the punishment of Adam and Eve's disobedience.

Your Desire for Your Husband

It is interesting that the curse, "Your desire will be for your husband"[12] is actually a curse. It is a derogatory statement that is a result of their sin. This desire is not a healthy or good desire. Some questions are raised, such as, what kind of desire is this? What makes it a bad desire? Interpreters of the word, "desire," do not completely agree that it is an all-encompassing sexual desire; it can mean this, but there are different interpretations. Joel Lohr notes that, "S. R. Driver, in his classic commentary on Genesis, suggests that we are here dealing not so much with desire as with 'dependency.'"[13] S.R. Driver says that a woman's dependency is her need for "cohabitation."[14] The word, "desire", can refer to sexual desire, this feeling that women need to feel connected to a man both physically and emotionally. The feeling of always needing that connection, even when it is not within the context that God intended for it to be is the punishment that was given to women. The line underneath it is, "and he will rule over you," goes hand in hand with "your desire will be for your husband." Towner says, "As the 'ruled over' one, the woman's horizon is reduced and focused on the man."[15] It is certainly the truth that the subject and object of many women's hearts is men and their need for men in their lives. New Bible Commentary says, "*Your desire* may be a desire for sexual intercourse or for independence, but ultimately the husband's head ship will prevail."[16] There are many interpretations for the word desire, but the point is that men and women lost that original context of union and equality. Now women are destined to long for what was once in the Garden.

[10]   Dictionary.com.

[11]   Trible, "Depatriarchalizing," 45.

[12]   Genesis 3:16.

[13]   Joel N. Lohr, "Sexual Desire? Eve, Genesis 3:16, and [TEXT NOT REPRODUC-IBLE IN ASCII]."(Essay). *Journal of Biblical Literature*, no. 2: 227, 229.

[14]   Ibid., 229.

[15]   Towner, *Genesis*, 48.

[16]   G.J. Wenham et al, eds, New Bible Commentary (England: Inter-Varsity Press, 1994), 63.

Eve's Curse Seen through Bella

"Without Edward, Bella is annihilated."[17]

It is obvious from the first few chapters in the first book *Twilight* that Bella and Edward's relationship is not your ordinary love story. It is evident from the very beginning that this is a relationship that is the "love or die without it" kind. In their relationship Bella is strangely dependent on Edward. Miller gives a reason as to why she is dependent upon Edward. She says, "Bella, because she is the weak and vulnerable one, is in constant need of care and protection; she is dependent upon Edward for survival."[18] Her dependence on him is borderline unhealthy and dangerous. Colette Murphey says, "Throughout the four books in the saga, Bella is constantly faced with choices; choices that are motivated by her love for Edward."[19] Edward does not only affect Bella's choices, he affects her life, her being and existence. Angela Tenga in her article, "Read Only as Directed: Psychology, Intersexuality, and Hyperreality in the Series," says that Bella is so afraid of losing Edward that she says she would rather be killed by him than be rejected by him.[20]

This is an unhealthy connection and something way beyond that as well. Tenga says, "Bella exhibits behavior that corresponds to symptoms of dependent personality disorder (DPD)."[21] According to Tenga, people with DPD have the strong need for someone to take care of them, so they display clinging behavior and are plagued by the fear of abandonment.[22] Bella's DPD comes to a cross roads in the second novel, *New Moon*, when Edward leaves her to shield her from his vampire brother who tries to attack her. In his absence Bella is so distraught that through half the book and movie she lies in her bed screaming and crying. When she is finally able to leave her bed, she engages in dangerous activities such as riding a motorcycle and jumping off a cliff because in her adrenalin rush she gets a glimpse and feeling that Edward is with her.

---

[17] Melissa Miller, "Maybe Edward Is the Most Dangerous Thing Out There," in *Theorizing Twilight: Critcal Essays on What's at Stake in a Post-Vampire World*, ed. Maggie Parke and Natalie Wilson (London: McFarland & Company, 2011), 167.

[18] Ibid., 167.

[19] Colete Murphey, "Someday My Vampire Will Come? Society's (and the Media's) Lovesick Infatuation with Prince-Like Vampires," in *Theorizing Twilight: Critical Essays on What's at Stake in a Post-Vampire World*, ed. Maggie Parke and Natalie Wilson (London: McFarland & Company, 2011), 64.

[20] Angela Tenga, "Read Only as Directed: Psychology, Intersexuality, and Hyperreality in the Series," in *Theorizing Twilight: Critical Essays on What's at Stake in a Post-Vampire World*, ed. Maggie Parke and Natalie Wilson (London: McFarland & Company, 2011), 106.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

Bella warps reality by performing these near death stunts so she can feel Edward's presence. Miller describes Bella's reality during Edward's absence. She says, "Bella's reaction to Edward's absence in *New Moon* establishes their relationship as destiny; if she is to survive, they must be together."[23] The reason she reacts the way she does is because her identity has become so enmeshed with Edward that she does not know who she is without him. The problem is not their separation; the problem is that their identities are in each other. They are not independent people who love each other, but one dysfunctional being. God said that a woman's desire will be for her husband. Bella has this desire, and it is a distortion of the real loving relationship that was created in the Garden.

Edward and Bella's Relationship

"Bella functions purely as the object and recipient of Edward's desire, a 'blank slate, with few thoughts or actions that don't center on Edward.'"[24]

Bella's attachment to Edward is so strong that she has the compulsion to be with him all the time. Edward tells Bella that she is his life now. Some psychologists label Bella and Edward's relationship and this desire as codependency.[25] In the first *Twilight* movie, Bella's mother observes and tells Bella, "It's like you two are connected somehow; when you move he moves." This is a perfect summary of Bella and Edward's relationship in one sentence. When Edward moves, Bella moves, when Edward leaves, Bella checks out.

In Bella and Edward's relationship, along with Bella's strong dependence on Edward, Edward is extremely controlling of Bella. In Susan Jeffer's essay "Bella and the Choice Made in Eden," she describes Bella as a quietly complicit abused lover, who Edward feels compelled to control,

> [Edward's] behavior toward Bella for the first three books is frightening in many ways. Over the course of the series, he watches her sleep, constantly tells her she is absurd, and tries to control who she sees and who her friends are. This abusive behavior is rooted in his inability to recognize Bella's agency, his inability to acknowledge that she can decide for herself what she needs.[26]

---

[23]   Miller, "Maybe Edward Is the Most Dangerous Thing," 168.

[24]   Lindsey Averill, "Un-biting the Apple and Killing the Womb: Genesis, Gender, and Gynocide," in *Theorizing Twilight: Critical Essays on What's at Stake in a Post-Vampire World*, ed. Maggie Parke and Natalie Wilson (London: McFarland & Company, 2011), 225.

[25]   Robert Hemfelt, Frank Minirth, and Paul Meier, *Love is a Choice* (Thomas Nelson Incorporated, 2002).

[26]   Fetters, Ashley. "At Its Core, the 'Twilight' Saga Is a Story About _____." *The Atlantic*. Theatlantic.com, 2012.

Edward here is described as violent and controlling; seeing Bella as someone who is weak and incapable of taking care of herself.[27] Miller says, "Indeed, we see what happens to Bella when she is abandoned by the protective influence of Edward—she becomes a 'lost moon.'"[28] Bella is not her own person; she lacks agency. Everything about her is validated by Edward. Edward possesses the patriarchal role of controlling and ruling, and Bella is in submission to him. Bella even sees herself as subordinate and under submission to Edward. She reminds the reader and herself over and over again that she is not good enough to be with Edward.[29]

The only time Bella has strength and power is when she becomes a vampire, but this strength is only gained by taking Edward's form and identity. Miller says, "Though Edward cannot reverse himself to his human form, symbolically, when Bella changes for Edward it legitimizes a longstanding cultural norm of women adjusting their desires to accommodate those of male partners."[30]

The consequence that came out of Eve's disobedience in the Garden of Eden is shown in Edward and Bella's relationship. Edward controls and rules over her and she succumbs and submits to his rule, and her "desire" disguises the distortion. Her desire makes it seem like it is something she wants. She wants Edward to control her and protect her. She wants to be wrapped in his identity and give hers away so she may be with him. She dies so that she may be with Edward forever. Averill says, "Bella is reborn in Edward's image with her biological female systematically eliminated."[31] Bella's physical change to a vampire has a deeper cause than just Bella's overwhelming desire to be with Edward.

At one point, when Bella is still human, she and Edward talk about his soul being damned and him wanting to save her by keeping her human, and she says, "What if I don't want to be saved?" After she becomes a vampire, she tells everyone, the readers, and even herself that she was born to be a vampire.[32] By becoming a vampire, Bella reveals her dependence on Edward in that the closer they are the clearer their identity becomes. Before she was a vampire, Bella tried to be as close to Edward as she could possibly be without actually becoming a vampire.

In *Twilight* after their first kiss, Bella says, "It would cause me physical pain to be separated from him now."[33] Sarah K. Days says, "Driven constantly

---

[27] Averill, "Un-biting the Apple," 231.

[28] Miller, "Maybe Edward Is the Most Dangerous Thing," 167.

[29] Ibid., 171.

[30] Ibid., 167.

[31] Averill, "Un-biting the Apple," 232.

[32] Murphey, "Someday My Vampire," 62.

[33] Stephanie Meyer, *Twilight* (New York: Little, Brown, and Company, 2005), 283.

by a desire to be near him, Bella clings and attempts to prolong each kiss, despite Edward's frequent reminders that the closeness endangers her."[34] Bella throughout three novels begs Edward to turn her into a vampire. She begs and tries to have premarital sex with him, but he is always the one who stops it and says they must wait until they are married. Bella experiences the three consequences laid out in Genesis 3:16. God said, "I will greatly increase your pangs in childbearing; in pain you shall bring forth children," Bella only becomes a vampire after a bloody and brutal birthing of her vampire/human baby. She dies in child birth and Edward bites her to change her into a vampire. Bella experiences the "pangs" of childbearing and more. God said, "Yet your desire shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you." As described before, Bella desires Edward in every sense of the word, by transforming her identity to his, and he rules over her with control. The *Twilight* saga reveals almost verbatim the Fall of Humanity; from perfection to sin.

Skewed Opinion of Eve and Bella

According to the Biblical text, ever since the Fall, humanity has moved further from God and the life in the Garden. When Eve took a bite of the fruit and offered it to Adam, their relationship was forever altered and terribly perverted. Lindsey Averill in her article, "Un-biting the Apple and Killing the Womb: Genesis, Gender, and Gynocide" has a differing opinion of Eve and women's rise in humanity. She says that when Eve disobeyed, she took a stand for all women and became independent. Averill says, when Eve took that bite she created a world where both men and women could be equal.[35] Before the Fall, according to Averill, woman was under submission to a male-God and her husband. She says that Eve's creation was in fact evidence that she was not her own, but part of her husband's identity.[36]

Averill praises Eve for her independence and choice to get out from under a male-God's and her husband's submission. She says that Bella diminishes everything Eve did when she took that bite. Averill makes her point by revealing that on the cover of the first book there is an unbitten apple: "We know this apple as belonging to Snow White's evil stepmother, the symbol of the first Judeo-Christian sin, the icon of enchanting sexuality. This unbitten apple serves as the emblem of that which lures us way from socially constructed morality."[37]

---

[34]   Sara K. Day, "Narrative Intimacy and the Question of Control in the *Twilight Saga*," in *Genre, Reception, and Adaptation in the Twilight Series,* ed. Anne Morey (Texas: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012), 72.

[35]   Averill, "Un-biting the Apple," 225.

[36]   Ibid., 226.

[37]   Ibid., 224.

Meyer says that the unbitten apple represents the "forbidden fruit" from Genesis.[38] Bella, in Averill's, opinion is taking a step back from what Eve achieved—when it is clear that Bella and Edward's relationship is just a reflection of Adam and Eve's shared sin. Averill's view is seen here in this quote:

> Like Genesis, Meyer's novels emphasize the aspects of hegemonic masculinity as the desired norm, undermine female agency and underline masculine norms by shifting the source of creative/procreative power from female to male, thereby confirming male dominance and eliminating female agency and biological form.[39]

It is true that Bella and Edward's relationship is a distortion of male and female relationships, but, in contradiction to Averill, Bella is not opposing Eve's disobedience; she mirrors it. Phyllis Trible says that the Hebrew word for desire is meant for the larger context of the man and woman losing the relationship they had in the Garden, one of mutuality, love, and equality.[40] Averill also sees Bella in opposition to Eve, but it is in opposition to the Biblical text. She says, "Unlike Bella's choice, Eve's actions created the space in which women and men might begin to envision a world that honors both feminine and masculine qualities and male and female bodies as potent and creative."[41]

Men and women's relationship has been going backward ever since the Fall. We are now leaving the all patriarchal view and reaching equality, but we are losing the special relationship that was between Adam and Eve in the Garden.

Viewpoint of Media and Popular Culture

"Bella and Edward's relationship is seen as romantic and desirable, when in any other world it would be destructive."[42]

In our world Bella and Edward's love is destructive. The destruction is hidden by an otherworldly story line. Fantasy genre hides the truth about what is really going on in this highly esteemed relationship. *Twilight* is perceived as making a standard for romance and true love. *Twilight's* love story is thought of as ideal and many teenagers and women crave and yearn for this kind of love.

---

[38] Averill, "Un-biting the Apple," 224.

[39] Ibid., 226.

[40] Phyllis Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, in Lohr, "Sexual Desire," 229).

[41] Averill, "Un-biting the Apple," 235.

[42] Miller, "Maybe Edward Is the Most Dangerous Thing," 175.

Angela Tenga says, "Bella and Edward's partnership creates alluring but potentially damaging images of teen romance for adolescent fans, who may overlook the addictive and obsessive aspects of the relationship."[43] Miller says that the love that Bella and Edward have, a controlling love, where female subordination which Bella justifies, creates a view for female readers that is rational and acceptable.[44] The relationship is, however, also criticized. Bella is criticized for her image as a role model for young teens. Bella's codependent behavior is seen as normal; it is the way true love "makes" one act. As seen in the Creation story in Genesis, the Garden, and the Fall, Bella and Edward's relationship is not the ideal, but pop-culture and the media says that this is the love to have; this is true love and you must be so enthralled with your love that you forget yourself and everything rational.

Conclusion

When people think of Eve's curse they think of pain in childbearing; this is the consequence that stands out the most because it is physical and obvious. The other two consequences of desire for your husband and his control over you, are harder to see. As women, we know we have a desire for men and a desire to feel connected to them. This is why we eat ice cream and chocolate when a special man breaks our heart. Bella in the *Twilight* saga is dependent on Edward. Edward and Bella have a dangerous and unhealthy relationship, yet our society today praises and idolizes it. "We do not have love if it is not all encompassing and all consuming," which is the message that is going out to girls and women of all ages. According to Genesis 3, this is not the relationship that God intended for men and women to have. Eve did not break from man's control when she took a bite from that fruit, she created that control. The Biblical text calls all humanity to have healthy, loving relationships, but popular culture is not.

---

[43] Tenga, "Read Only as Directed," 103.

[44] Miller, "Maybe Edward Is the Most Dangerous Thing," 171.

Bibliography

Averill, Lindsey. "Un-biting the Apple and Killing the Womb: Genesis, Gender, and Gynocide." In *Theorizing Twilight: Critical Essays on What's at Stake in a Post-Vampire World*, edited by Maggie Parke and Natalie Wilson. London: McFarland & Company, Inc. Publishers, 2011.

Coogan, Michael D., ed. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version with the Apocrypha.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Day, Sara K. "Narrative Intimacy and the Question of Control in the Twilight Saga." In *Genre, Reception, and Adaptation in the Twilight Series*, edited by Anne Morey. Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012.

Fetters, Ashley. "At Its Core, the 'Twilight' Saga Is a Story About _____." *The Atlantic*. theatlantic.com, 2012.

Hemfelt, Robert, Frank Minirth, and Paul Meier. *Love is a Choice.* Nashville, Tennessee: Thomas Nelson Incorporated, 2002.

Lohr, Joel N. 2011. "Sexual Desire? Eve, Genesis 3:16, and [TEXT NOT REPRODUCIBLE IN ASCII]." *Journal of Biblical Literature*, no. 2: 227.

Miller, Melissa. "Maybe Edward is the Most Dangerous Thing Out There." In *Theorizing Twilight: Critical Essays on What's at Stake in a Post-Vampire Worl,* edited by Maggie Parke and Natalie Wilson. London: McFarland & Company, 2011.

Murphey, Colette. "Someday My Vampire Will Come? Society's (and the Media's) Lovesick Infatuation with Prince-Like Vampires." In *Theorizing Twilight: Critical Essays on What's at Stake in a Post-Vampire Worl,* edited by Maggie Parke and Natalie Wilson. London: McFarland & Company, 2011.

Tenga, Angela. "Read Only as Directed: Psychology, Intersexuality, and Hyperreality in the Series." In *Theorizing Twilight: Critical Essays on What's at Stake in a Post-Vampire Worl,* edited by Maggie Parke and Natalie Wilson. London: McFarland & Company, 2011.

Towner, Sibley. *Genesis.* Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001.

Trible, Phyllis. "Depatriarchalizing in Biblical Interpretation." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 41 (1973): 30-48.

Wenham, J.A., J.A. Motyer, D.A. Carson, and R.T. France, eds. *New Bible Commentary.*
    England: Inter-Varsity Press, 1994.

Total Ankle Arthroplasty: A Case Report

Courtney Paige Atkins

Abstract

A total ankle arthroplasty is a new surgical procedure option for select patients to consider as opposed to an ankle fusion. Patients that are middle-aged and active have much more potential as a candidate for the total replacement versus a middle-aged sedentary adult who may have arthritis. The range of motion and mobility a total replacement brings is much more than is gained with that of the ankle fusion procedure. This case report follows a patient who was a candidate for total ankle arthroplasty and his journey to recovery and return to work.

Keywords: total ankle arthroplasty, fusion, mobility, function, progression

Total Ankle Arthroplasty: A Case Report

Patients suffering from degenerative joint disease at the tibiotalar joint generally have two main treatment options: ankle athrodesis or a total ankle arthroplasty. When the athrodesis procedure is done, there is a decrease in pain, but a large deficit in range of motion compared to a total ankle arthroplasty procedure. The ages considered for either treatment option is 45-60 years old. For a surgeon to perform a total arthroplasty the patient has to be younger and more active. If a patient is sedentary and overweight and doesn't really perform many activities, the surgeon will most likely choose ankle athrodesis because it will significantly decrease pain and supply enough range of motion that daily activities are possible. On the other hand, a total ankle arthroplasty allows for a higher range of motion and function as well as a decrease in pain. For adults that are much more active and perform more than just daily activities, the arthroplasty is their best treatment option due to the increased range of motion when compared to the arthodesis (Bahari, Mckenna, Munigangaiah, and Kelly).

On January 21, 2013, a 62 year old Caucasian male presented at OrthoCarolina with complaints of left ankle pain. In 1975 the patient was

involved in a motor vehicle accident and suffered from a left ankle fracture that was treated non-operatively. Later it was discovered that he had a non-union of the fibula and was experiencing ankle pain. In November 1995, Dr. Kingery fixed the non-union of the fibula, but over the years his ankle pain, stiffness, and swelling increased in the left ankle. Recently in April of 2012 he was involved in a motorcycle accident and sustained a left femur fracture where he had an IM nail inserted by Dr. Cox. For his ankle pain he has been taking NSAIDs. The patient has difficulty with walking on uneven ground and notices ankle pain first thing in the morning. The patient is currently able to work somewhat through the pain, but then the pain returns at the end of the day. The patient has not pursued any other form of treatment such as injections or braces. The patient's physical exam shows that upon standing his ankle was slightly externally rotated; however, the patient did not present with significant valgus or varus deformities. The patient has a good range of motion with 10 degrees of dorsi flexion and 30 degrees of plantar flexion. The patient showed tenderness to palpation over the anterior ankle joint and laterally. The X-Rays revealed that there was significant degenerative joint disease in his tibiotalar joint and that there was a fibula fracture with intact hardware with no loosening around the screws or broken hardware. The diagnosis was left ankle posttraumatic arthritis, and the treatment option that best fit the patient's active lifestyle was a total ankle replacement. The patient works as an electronic technician at a maximum security prison where he often performs work on ladders and on uneven terrain. The patient enjoys hiking and playing with his grandchildren, which he has previously been unable to do because of the ankle pain. Treatment options and complications were discussed. The complications included possible amputation in the case of an infection, but the patient decided to pursue the ankle arthroplasty. The doctor's treatment plan is to have a BMA, PRP, Magellan, possible gastroc slide, and hardware removal of the left fibula plate and screws. The doctor states that he will need about four months off work postoperatively.

On April 17, 2013, the patient had a total ankle arthroplasty which comprised of a total ankle replacement on the left foot, hardware removal at the lateral ankle, gastroc slide, and a bone marrow aspirate. On May 29, 2013 he presented to OrthoCarolina for a postoperative visit where he was recommended to start physical therapy for range of motion and edema control. The doctor noted that he will be out of work until the beginning of September.

On June 11, 2013, the patient was seen at Therapy Plus where he had been ordered to non-weight bear for 6 weeks, then transitioned to weight bearing with the aid of crutches. By the time he presented to the physical therapy clinic he was walking with no assistive devices and had a pain level of 2-3 out of 10. The patient was experiencing a large amount of swelling

after being on the leg for 30 minutes to 1 hour, and he notes that he cannot position his foot flat or push off with his lower left extremity. The patient has a decreased range of motion, altered transfer, decreased strength, an abnormal gait, and altered balance/proprioception. The Physical Therapist's diagnosis is aftercare following joint replacement and encounter for other physical therapy. The patient's overall prognosis is good, and treatment will consist of modalities, balance and proprioception activities, transfer training, range of motion activities, general strengthening, manual mobilization, gait training and instruction with a home exercise program. The patient's goals are as follows: independent with a home exercise program, restored range of motion within four weeks, increase strength with ankle/foot to gain a normal gait pattern in four weeks, increase strength in ankle/foot to improve dynamic balance within four weeks, minimize swelling in the ankle laterally in order to improve active range of motion in two weeks, and decrease pain levels with weight bearing activities in two-three weeks.

On July 9, 2013, the patient was re-evaluated at Therapy Plus and complained of weakness and slow progression in the left ankle. The patient stated that within two and a half hours of standing activities he needs to sit. The patient notes that he needs to move if he sits for 30-45 minutes. The patient says his pain is 0 out of 10, but that his pain level increases on uneven ground and that his balance is still compromised. Again, the prognosis of this patient is good. At this point the patient has finished eight physical therapy appointments with improvements in ankle range of motion, improvement with transfers, increased strength, and improved push off into the swing phase of gait. The patient still has significant balance issues, gait abnormalities, range of motion and strength deficits. The plan of care is still the same. The patient met his goal of minimizing swelling to improve active range of motion and has progressed on all of the other goals set by the Physical Therapist. The most limited ranges of motion are dorsi flexion, inversion, and eversion.

On August 8, 2013, the patient was re-evaluated at Therapy Plus and presented with a 0 out of 10 pain level, but complains of a stiffness in the heel. The patient notes that he is pushing himself to about six hours of activity before stopping and trying to work on a ladder to build up on work specific tasks, but that by the end of the day there is an issue of swelling and increased pain. The patient has advanced slowly in his goals of gaining of active range of motion, increasing ankle and foot strength, and improving balance and proprioception. The patient's gait had regressed at this evaluation due to a secondary knee pain following a separate unknown injury. Swelling is still a concern, but the overall activity of the patient has greatly increased. The Physical Therapist notes that the patient still has difficulties in balance along with gait deficits affecting tasks he would be required to do upon returning to work. The patient has to walk a ½ mile while carrying a ladder, be able to

climb the ladder to check alarms and cameras, walk on uneven terrain, and at times crawl. The plan of care remains the same and therapy is recommended for one-two times a week for four weeks to address deficits. The Physical Therapist has added two additional goals: the patient will be able to negotiate a ladder with no pain in four weeks and the patient will be able to maneuver on uneven terrain in four weeks with no left ankle/knee pain. The patient has progressed on all of his goals except for increasing strength in ankle/foot to improve dynamic balance within four weeks. The patient has not met this goal.

The patient's last re-evaluation and therapy was held on September 19, 2013. The patient notes that the first 45 minutes of his day are good in terms of pain, but then the swelling starts and by around noon the pain usually grows to a 4/10, so the patient takes Tylenol to relieve the pain. The patient also noted that he is experiencing an altered sensation from the mid lower leg to the toes and that it worsens in the forefoot, 4th and 5th digit areas. The patient states that his wife notices an altered balance after prolonged activity. The patient also notes that he has been practicing climbing a ladder, but he has to think about each step and notes that he has noticed he is slower and constantly thinking of where to place his foot on uneven ground. The patient's left knee pain has decreased to a one out of ten since his surgery to remove hardware from his knee. The patient has been progressing slowly relating to his regain of range of motion. He has gained one more degree of dorsiflexion, two more degrees gained on plantar-flexion, and the degrees for eversion remain the same compared to his last re-evaluation. His overall prognosis remains good, but the patient has only showed minimal progression with his range of motion, gait and balance, and ankle/foot strength in the last month.

While the patient is very motivated and intense with his exercise and works hard in and out of therapy, he has reached his maximum benefit from therapy at this time. The Physical Therapist's greatest concerns are the ankle and foot strength, the ability to maneuver on uneven ground and the ability to maneuver on a ladder. The fact that he works at a state prison should be addressed and considered before he returns to work. It is advised that he not go back to work until he has achieved his goals of being able to maneuver on uneven terrain and negotiate a ladder with minimal pain. He has met his first goal of an independent home exercise program, is progressing in his restoration of range of motion, has shown minimal progression in the last month in increased foot and ankle strength, has met the goal of minimizing swelling, but his pain has been increasing to a four out of ten by 1:00 p.m., and he must cautiously maneuver in uneven terrain and must be cautious when using a ladder at work.

Overall, the patient has been progressing with his range of motion and regaining of strength since surgery. He needs to continue to work on

meeting his other goals. In order to go back to work, all of his goals will need to be met. The patient has a great outlook on recovery because he seems to be very motivated and a hard worker in therapy and at home. His surgery was unique because ankle replacements are few and far between and he is past the "normal" age considered for this surgery. For his active lifestyle and physically demanding career this surgery seems to have been the best option for restoring ankle strength and range of motion.

Range of Motion Measurements throughout Treatment

	1/21/2013	6/11/2013	7/9/2013	8/8/2013	9/19/2013
Dorsi-flexion	10/20	0/20	3/20	5/20	6/20
Plantar-flexion	30/50	19/50	41/50	44/50	46/50
Eversion	----------	5/20	8/20	9/20	9/20

Table 1: this chart shows an overview of the decrease then increase of range of motion for the different evaluation dates starting from before the surgery until the last re-evaluation at therapy.

ROM of Patient Post-operatively vs. "Normal" ROM of the Ankle Joint

	Patient's current ROM	"Normal" ROM
Dorsi-flexion	6°	20-30°
Plantar-flexion	46°	40-50°
Eversion	9°	15-25°

Table 2: this chart shows the comparisons between the patient's current ROM post-operatively versus a "Normal" person's ROM of the tibotalar joint. The "normal" ranges were found using the resource "Range of Joint Motion Evaluation Chart".

Goals and Progression of Goals throughout Treatment

	7/9/2013	8/8/2013	9/19/2013
1. Independent with a home exercise program.	Progressing	Advancing and diligent with program	Met
2. Restore range of motion within 4 weeks.	Progressing: dorsi-flexion, inversion and eversion are most limited.	Progressing	Progressing
3. Increase strength with ankle/ foot to normalize gait pattern within 4 weeks.	Progressing	Progressed and continuing to advance	Minimal progression in last month
4. Increase strength in ankle/ foot to improve dynamic balance within 4 weeks.	Progressing	Not Met	Slow progression
5. Minimize swelling in left ankle laterally to improve active range of motion within 2 weeks.	Met	Met	Met
6. Decrease pain levels within 2-3 weeks with weight-bearing activities.	Progressed	Progressed, but left knee pain issue	4/10 by 1pm
7. Patient will be able to negotiate a ladder without pain within 4 weeks.	NA	Goal added to list	Cautiously
8. Patient will be able to maneuver on uneven terrain within 4 weeks with no left knee/ankle pain.	NA	Goal added to list	Cautiously

Table 3: This table shows the overview of goals and the patient's progression through those goals during treatment.

Bibliography

Bahari, Syah, Jhonny Mckenna, Sudarshan Munigangaiah, and Paula Kelly. "Ankle Arthrodesis Versus Ankle Replacement." *SICOT E-Newsletter*. SICOT, n.d. Web. 23 Aug 2013. <http://www.sicot.org/?id_page=623>.

"Range of Joint Motion Evaluation Chart." Washington State: Department of Social and Health Services, n.d. Web. 7 Sep 2013. <http://www.dshs.wa.gov/pdf/ms/forms/13_585a.pdf>.

A Study of the Inequality of Women in the Middle East

Mary Hellstrom

Introduction to the Study of Gender Inequality in the Middle East

Brutalized, mistrusted, and considered innately inferior, women in the Middle East exist in a state of convoluted cultural norms. The study of the status and lives of these women in Middle Eastern cultures has become extremely popular in the world of Academia during the last three decades. There are multiple reasons for this boom in scholarly interest, yet at the root rests a fascination with the lives of one of the most marginalized and persecuted groups of humans on the planet. Scholars have sought and squabbled with one another regarding the source of this perceived misogyny in Middle Eastern cultures. Numerous reasons have been put forth, but no consensus has been reached; the issue is incredibly complex and often misunderstood by Westerners. Nevertheless, extreme and inhumane treatment of women in the Middle East does exist and persist; it is rooted deeply in a culture, which *must* be understood further by outsiders in order to properly respond to the issue, both to the perpetrators and to the victims, the line between which is not always clear. The source of this mistreatment is not easily understood, nor is it limited to religion, colonialism, or unadulterated misogyny, alone. The negative results of this phenomenon are also not at all limited to females. Many aspects of Middle Eastern culture including politics, economics, family dynamics, and male culture are all undermined by the cultural status and treatment of women. Gender inequality in the Middle East is a serious and relevant issue, one which is complex and also negatively affecting nearly all aspects of Middle Eastern culture. Additionally, the Bible clearly supports a call to action in favor of these oppressed women. Gender injustice is in fact a scriptural concern. We must seek a better understanding of this issue in order to rise against the injustice and cause real change for the humans who are having their rights and humanity trampled upon.

Why Focus on the Middle East?

Injustice occurs worldwide with regard to marginalized women. So, why focus so closely on the Middle East? Why do the injustices against

women in these countries stand out against all of the rest? A few examples here will be provided so as to show the depth of need throughout the Middle East in regards to the mistreatment of women. In Libya, under Mustaga Abdel Jalil, women who have survived sexual harassments are routinely treated as "suspects of moral crimes" and are sent to "social rehabilitation centers" where they would stay unless their families agreed to take them back or if the man who raped them agreed to marry them.[1] In Yemen, over 55% of women are illiterate, only one female sits on the 301 person parliament, and horrifying news reports regarding 12 year old girls dying in childbirth are standard.[2] In Pakistan, it is expected for women to commit suicide after they have been sexually assaulted, in order to restore honor to themselves and their families.[3] In fact, not one "Arab country ranks in the top 100 in the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report."[4] These statements represent hundreds of examples which illustrate the extent to which sexism is rampant in the Middle East. Not only are perpetrators of injustice allowed to go free, it is often the institutions of government themselves which propagate violence against women.

The Multiplicity of Factors Causing Sexism

Misogyny can be defined as "having or showing a hatred or distrust of women."[5] The common misconception among Westerners is that sexism in the Middle East comes out of the pervasive religion there, Islam. While religion has certainly played a role in perpetuating an environment of gender inequality, it is by no means the root cause of this issue. Many other causes, such as pre-Islamic colonialism, a culture of honor and shame, and the twisting of Islamic ideals have contributed to the current status and perception of women in Middle Eastern countries. Regarding this issue, Max Fisher states, "It's a problem that Arab societies have, but it's not a distinctly Arab problem. The actual, root causes are disputed, complicated, and often controversial. But you can't cure a symptom without acknowledging the disease, and that disease is not race, religion, or ethnicity."[6] As Westerners, we

---

[1] Mona Eltahawy, "Why Do They Hate Us?" http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/04/23/why_do_they_hate_us (Accessed November 5, 2013).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Nicholas D. Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn, Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide, (New York: Vintage Books, 2010), 71.

[4] Eltahawy, "Why Do They Hate Us?"

[5] Rita J. Andrews, "The Mist of Misogyny," Engender, http://www.engender.org.za/publications/misogyny.pdf (Accessed November 5, 2013).

[6] Max Fisher, "The Real Roots of Sexism in the Middle East (It's Not Islam, Race, or 'Hate')" The Atlantic, http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/04/the-real-roots-of-sexism-in-the-middle-east-its-not-islam-race-or-hate/256362/ (Accessed November 5, 2013).

must extract from our minds the idea that misogyny is "in the blood" of Arab men. This is an untrue and dangerous conclusion. However, we should have a distrust for the purported simple explanations of this problem often put forth, recognizing that complicated problems call for equally complicated analyses and answers.[7]

Historical Roots of Misogyny

In order to understand the current concepts surrounding misogyny in the Middle East, it is important to understand the past history of such beliefs. It is also essential to see the vastness of this problem, as it has extended into nearly every crevice of society for millennia. Even revered philosophers such as Aristotle propagated and defended sexist trends. Of his beliefs, it has been said that "women were imperfectly human, a failure in the process of conception; and this view influenced Roman thought which in turn influenced the early church."[8] The history of Christianity is not *at all* exempt from sexism. Augustine, too, believed women to be morally and mentally inferior to men. Some early church leaders, like St. Jerome, "could not agree on whether or not women were completely human!"[9] Sexism has become a part of the human psyche, of both men and women, and it will not be rooted out easily. It has extended into the modern era, of both developed and underdeveloped societies; somewhere in the United States of America, "a woman is sexually assaulted *every two minutes*".[10] An understanding of just *why* sexual assaults on women are so prevalent in society may help to illuminate the task set forth here, as well.

Misogyny and the Human Psyche

Throughout this discussion, it will be important to remember that misogyny is not a male problem, but a communal, *societal* problem. "Many women exhibit misogynist behaviors and have internalized misogyny," thus perpetuating the problem on their own.[11] Once women come to believe misogyny to be a societal norm is when true danger and a loss of hope begin to encroach.

> Because women continue to live in a society of male dominance and continue to live in a world view that holds the feminine as less than, many have come to believe their socialization is reality. Women don't

---

[7]   Omid Safi, *Progressive Muslims*, (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003), 2.

[8]   Andrews, "Mist of Misogyny."

[9]   Ibid.

[10]   Ibid.

[11]   Ibid.

need men to put them down, violate them, denigrate them. Women can do these things quite well themselves.[12]

David Lisak, who specializes in violent crime including murder and rape, states in an interview, "There are very powerful motivators behind sexual aggression. At the top of the list is power, a feeling of being able to dominate and control another human being, to force them to do something against their will that you want."[13] With regard to Middle Eastern cultures, where messages about the entitled role of men are quite prevalent, the ground is fertile for "angry individuals to target other individuals who are specifically vulnerable."[14] It is mere anatomy which has allowed women to be perceived as the most vulnerable group by angry men. They are an easy target. However, when asked if sexual assault and rape are the result of hatefulness for women, Lisak replied, "Yes, there has always been a powerful argument for viewing a lot of sexual violence as a hate crime."[15] These themes will be explored in further discussions of the details regarding the treatment of women in the Middle East, spanning the countries of Egypt, Afghanistan, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Tunisia, and many others.

Colonialism and Pre-Islamic Influences

There is no doubt that institutionalized Arab misogyny has become a cultural phenomenon of the modern day, but many of the "most important architects of this misogyny" were not Arab at all.[16] They were Ottoman (British and French) and, for centuries, they ruled over what are now Arab nations. "One of their favorite tricks was to *buy* the submission of men by offering them absolute power over women. The foreign overlords ruled the public sphere, local men ruled the private sphere."[17] These ideas were slowly and steadily engrained into Middle Eastern societies. This foreign domination also had a hand in conforming Islam to misogynistic trends. The colonial rulers promoted religious leaders who agreed with their "patriarchal bargain" (previously stated) and suppressed those who objected.[18]

---

[12] Andrews, "Mist of Misogyny."

[13] Heather Timmons, "Why Do Groups of Men Attack Lone Women?" The New York Times, http://india.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/12/20/understanding-the-psychology-of-gang-rape/?_r=0 (Accessed November 5, 2013).

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Fisher, "Real Roots of Sexism."

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

Islam came into existence within the early seventh century and existed amongst a multitude of religious beliefs and cultural practices.[19] The pre-Islamic religions of the area, including Judaism, Zoroastrianism, and Christianity all supported male-dominant attitudes and practices.[20] In most pre-modern societies, women's sole function was viewed as child-bearing and rearing, and men became increasingly aware of the importance of securing a legitimate family line by restricting women's accessibility to other men and the outside world.[21] The veiling of women, now a common Islamic practice, actually pre-dates Islam to Assyrian culture.[22] It was seen as very important to protect high-class women in this way. Later, "the social and gender stratification of the conquered Islamic territories and the wealth that came to the Islamic conquerors favored the development of elite harems, domestic slavery, veiling and seclusion of women, and other features characteristic of both the pre-Islamic and Islamic Middle East."[23]

As culture continued to develop, the status of women was shaped according to the surrounding influences. Some of these results are connected to the difficult terrain of this geographic area, along with the prevalence of nomadic tribes and clans.[24] It became increasingly important for men to protect the patriarchal family line and to keep women safe from outside attackers. This is when the practice of honor killings became prevalent; when a woman was suspected of transgressing rules of sexual behavior, she was killed in order to protect the honor of her husband or family.[25] Through a little research, it becomes obvious that misogynistic practices are not the result of Arab religion and culture alone; they predate to the cultures who sought to conquer and rule the Arab people centuries ago. In some ways, the Arab people as a whole have been victims of the whims of power-hungry colonizers.

The Role of the State and Modern Politics

The current instability of many Middle Eastern countries may very well be contributing heavily to the issue of the extreme control and mistrust of women in society. Lisak notes that when a man's sense of efficacy and competency is threatened, sexual violence becomes a way of restoring his

---

[19]   Nikki R. Keddie, *Women in the Middle East: Past and Present*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 10.

[20]   Ibid., 14.

[21]   Ibid., 15.

[22]   Ibid., 14.

[23]   Ibid., 15.

[24]   Ibid., 17.

[25]   Ibid., 17.

masculinity.[26] Arabs have experienced centuries of harsh, authoritarian rule.[27] One Western female journalist, who lived in the Middle East and experienced the infamous street harassment "sensed that her attackers may have been acting out of misery, anger, and their own emasculation."[28] Arab men endure "daily torments and humiliations under the Egyptian or Syrian or Algerian secret police," possibly making an Arab man "more likely to reassert his lost manhood" on a vulnerable woman.[29] This may be working both ways, however; evidence has shown that in cultures that oppress women, the government is likely to oppress all citizens. "An authoritarian and patriarchal home environment is mirrored in an authoritarian and patriarchal political system."[30] It is no secret that many Middle Eastern countries exist in a state of extreme instability. It has been posited that the recent revival in the extreme control of women by fundamentalists may reflect a desire to divert attention away from the real problems of society and their failure to deal with them.[31] "The pragmatic need to maintain social control necessitates the use of women, the weakest and most visible social link and, therefore, the easiest to subjugate, to demonstrate to society and the world at large an illusion of control."[32] Women have emerged as an efficient vehicle for social control, showing that this issue extends much deeper than the involvement of individual men perpetuating sexism. The instability of the surrounding world in which Arabs live has caused men to seek some illusion of control, usually resulting in horrendous mistreatment of women and girls. Political stability is most likely an unavoidable prerequisite to the liberation of women.

A Culture of Honor and Shame

A culture in which the behavior of a woman defines the honor of a man will surely result in unfair treatment of the former. In the Middle East, we see just this. We see a culture where the rape of a female member of the family is used as the corporal punishment of an entire family unit. We see a culture where women are driven to suicide if they have been defiled, in order to protect their honor and the honor of their families.[33] We see

---

[26] Timmons, "Why Do Groups of Men Attack Lone Women?"

[27] Fisher, "Real Roots of Sexism."

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Kristof and WuDunn, *Half the Sky*, 159.

[31] Lamia Rustum Shehadeh, *The Idea of Women Under Fundamentalist Islam*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 9.

[32] Ibid., 9.

[33] Kristof and WuDunn, *Half the Sky*, 170.

a culture where the phrase "honor killing" is a household term. We see a culture where prominent female leaders must wear multiple pairs of tights in order to keep themselves from being raped by those attempting to strip them of their honor and dignity.[34] It is a culture where the perceptions of honor and shame are anachronistic and backwards. Where is the concept of shame for the men doing the assaulting, the raping, the killing? Instead, they gain honor, while the woman is forced to bear irreversible shame over something she had no control over. This is a concept which dates back to pre-Islamic culture in the Middle East. Among pastoral tribes there was "an emphasis on female virginity at marriage and fidelity during marriage, and a belief that men's honor depended on women's chastity and fidelity."[35] These ideas extended into the formation of Arab states. As Islam developed in these states, the conglomeration of ideas which occurred reflected the surrounding tribal cultures, causing some major inconsistencies; "this synthesis meant less of a public role for women than had existed in pre-Islamic Arabia, and an emphasis on partly tribal ideas of honor and protection of male lineage via the control of women."[36] The current understandings of shame and honor in Middle Eastern cultures must be somehow shifted if a change is ever to occur in the mistreatment of women there.

Islamic Influence

The extent to which Islam has influenced sexism in the Middle East is a hotly debated topic. There are those who want to claim that Islam is egalitarian, that it is not to blame for misogyny whatsoever. There are also those who look solely to Islam as the cause for all of the misfortunes of women in the Middle East. However, both of these views lean too far to one end of the spectrum. There is no question that Islam has had a hand in propagating inequality in the Middle East, although this is due more so to the twisting of religious principles over time rather than misogyny ingrained in the religion originally. Nevertheless, Islam has been used as a weapon by perpetrators of inequality and the Koran has been used as a defense against horrendous crimes against humanity. There has been a trend in recent scholarship to put substantially less importance on the role of Islam in shaping gender views and practices in the Middle East; however, "evolving Islamic laws and beliefs both reflected and helped to shape ideas and practices regarding women."[37] The key word here is *evolving*–Islam is not inherently hateful towards women, but many beliefs and practices which have grown and changed within the

---

[34]   Kristof and WuDunn, *Half the Sky*, 170

[35]   Keddie, *Women in the Middle East*, 17.

[36]   Ibid., 18.

[37]   Ibid., 14.

realm of Islam for the last 14 centuries have become so. It may be a politically incorrect factoid, but it should be noted that "of the countries where women are held back and subjected to systematic abuses such as honor killings and genital cutting, a very large proportion are predominantly Muslim."[38]

Islam is understood by its adherents as the highest and final form of religion, transcending all other forms. The goal of Islam is to regulate man's relations with God and with each other, creating a sort of ideal civilization.[39] This, combined with the view that the Koran is not merely inspired by God, but the *literal* word of God, has created a problem for Muslims.[40] The Koran was written over 1000 years ago and many of the principles therein were seen as progressive in light of the surrounding culture at the time. The same can be said of the Bible. However, as Christians have mostly moved beyond the seemingly restrictive language regarding women existing in scripture, Muslims find themselves "frozen in the world view of seventh-century Arabia, amid attitudes that were progressive for the time but are a millennium out of date."[41] This has much to do with how the Koran is viewed as the literal word of God; it cannot be changed. Even as cultural understandings shift, the Koran must remain exactly the same, despite the existence of unpleasant and antiquated passages. This is the view of fundamentalists. Many progressive Muslims argue that "if the Koran originally was progressive, then it should not be allowed to become an apologia for backwardness."[42]

The Koran does explicitly endorse some gender discrimination. For example, "a woman's testimony counts only half as much as a man's, and a daughter can only inherit half as much as a son."[43] We often blame religion as the cause of oppression, when the root may really be culture; however, it is also true that in Muslim countries, Muhammad is often quoted by the oppressors as justification for their actions.[44] Practices such as the marriage of eight year old girls to grown men continue, in part, because proponents are able to cite the Prophet Muhammad, who is said to have married his second wife, Aisha, when she was still a child.[45] Arabs in opposition to this form of Islam note that the god worshipped has evolved into a very misogynistic god.[46] Many Arab countries still exist in a state of power struggle between

---

[38] Kristof and WuDunn, *Half the Sky*, 149.

[39] Shehadeh, *The Idea of Women*, 2.

[40] Keddie, *Women in the Middle East*, 9.

[41] Ibid., 151.

[42] Ibid., 152.

[43] Ibid., 151.

[44] Ibid., 150.

[45] Eltahawy, "Why Do They Hate Us?"

[46] Ibid.

religious law and state law. Often times, as well, religious law has influenced state law greatly. Currently, in Tunisia, often regarded as one of the more progressive Arab states, many women's rights activists struggle over how Islamic law may weave itself into the governmental law they hope to see instated in post-revolution Tunisia.[47] It is the concrete and immovable nature of Islamic beliefs which has borne the most issues of inequality out of the religion. Eventually, the majority of Muslims must find a way to allow their religion to be fluid and progressive if women are ever to be liberated. Following will be a discussion of a small sample of gender-based traditions existing in the Middle East which will help to concretize the idea of sexism in these countries.

The Hijab

Hijab has emerged as the standardized word for the concept of veiling women across the Muslim world. It ranges from a headscarf arranged to cover everything except for the face to the *niqab,* a black garment meant to cover the face, as well. When a Westerner is asked to picture a Muslim woman, he or she will most often picture a woman wearing a long, thick garment with some sort of head or face covering. The popularity of this form of veiling has grown vastly in recent decades, with the fundamentalist movements–"these movements have advocated the reconstruction of the Islamic moral order, which, according to them, had been corrupted and adulterated. As a result, there has followed a reinstitution of the veil and segregation of the sexes."[48] The veil is seen as a defense against liberalism and Westernization in Arab countries, thus many women are proud to take up the veil. They state that the veil gives them security in working outside the home and in protecting their husbands against jealousy.[49] The question remains, however, why is this extreme *protection* necessary? "The hijab has become not only a sign of modesty and religious faith but also a symbol of the defense of Islam, the preservation of the family, and, therefore, the identity of Muslim society."[50] However, this does not change the dangerous effects which may be born out of this practice.

Some Arab feminists recognize that the veil acts as a limitation on women's capacity for self-determination in their bodies as part of their human development.[51] The moment a young Muslim girl shows any sign of

---

[47]   Eltahawy, "Why Do They Hate Us?"

[48]   Shehadeh, *The Idea of Women,* 2.

[49]   Marnia Lazreg, *Questioning the Veil: Open Letters to Muslim Women,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 6.

[50]   Shehadeh, *The Idea of Women,* 5.

[51]   Lazreg, *Questioning the Veil,* 3.

pubescence, she is quickly skirted off of the playground and into the house, safely underneath a veil, having her childhood snuffed out like a burning candle. Modesty is seen as the highest virtue for Muslim women, but Marnia Lazreg, a woman who grew up in the Middle East, notes that modesty cannot and should not be reduced to the veil.[52] "It is particularly confusing for a young Muslim girl to hear that modesty is the hallmark of being a Muslim woman, and that the only sign of modesty is not specific behavior and deeds, but the veil that a woman wears."[53] The veil implies that a woman should feel belittled and sorry for herself because of her anatomy, leading to the notion that a woman is afflicted with a condition which makes her a fundamentally flawed being. The flaw must be covered up by a veil.[54] "Oddly, the veil as concealment also stands for concealing from the woman herself the fact that she is endowed with a body in the same right as a man, and that what God or nature created cannot be defined as flawed by humans."[55] The female image is not the only distortion occurring here; perhaps the more disturbing distortion is that of the male psyche, which is told that it should not have to control its impulses if it so much as catches a glimpse of an unveiled woman.

The veil has led to such extremity that the traditions and stigmas surrounding it have resulted in death for some. In 2002, 14 girls died when their school caught on fire in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. School officials would not allow firemen anywhere near them to rescue them because "the girls were not wearing the headscarves and cloaks required in public."[56] They were burned to death, not of their own accord, as a sign of religious commitment.[57] The veil is meant partly as a way of protecting women from the wandering eyes, aggressive hands, and jeering mouths of Arab men, yet it is for the sake of these men that they are commanded to cover up.[58] Until women are acknowledged as possessing the same human rights as men and as trustworthy to dress themselves in modest ways on their own, inequality will continue to be perpetuated by the veil.

Female Genital Mutilation

Female circumcision, or more correctly genital mutilation, is another example of a widely accepted practice which enables and encourages extremely sexist attitudes in the Middle East. Egypt has become notorious

---

[52] Lazreg, *Questioning the Veil*, 23.

[53] Ibid., 23.

[54] Ibid., 26.

[55] Ibid., 26.

[56] Eltahawy, "Why Do They Hate Us?"

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

for the prevalence of this practice. According to research, more than "90% of ever-married women in Egypt" have had their genitals cut in the name of modesty.[59] This is an ancient practice meant to curtail the sexual temptation of females, thus protecting the patriarchal line. Once again, women are controlled and abused so as to ensure male honor.[60] The only purposes of this practice are to reduce girls' sexual desire, curb promiscuity, and ensure that daughters will be marriageable in cultures where female circumcision is expected.[61] When these girls are married, it is seen as honorable that their ability to enjoy sexual relations is damaged.[62] Once again, this practice shows an extreme distrust of women. This practice represents well the notion of communal misogyny.

> In talking about gender-based violence, it would be easy to slip into the conceit that men are the villains. But it's not true. Granted, men are often brutal to women. Yet it is women who routinely manage brothels in poor countries, who ensure that their daughters' genitals are cut, who feed sons before daughters, who take their sons but not their daughters to clinics for vaccination.[63]

If by some chance the girl's parents object to their daughter being circumcised, "it is not unusual for the girl to be kidnapped and forcibly circumcised by relatives or members of the community."[64] This proves all the more that misogyny and distrust of women is a societal problem. Men are *not* the villains. They are raised up in a culture where they are favored and where they are told they must treat women in a particular way if they are to possess any real honor. The solution to this problem must go much deeper than simply shaming men for their misdeeds.

Society, Crippled

As stated previously, the consequences of the mistreatment of women in the Middle East far outreach the realm of women and girls. The current status and treatment of women is seriously crippling these societies, holding them back from political, economic, and social success. "In general, the best clue to a nation's growth and development potential is the status and role of

---

[59]   Eltahawy, "Why Do They Hate Us?"

[60]   Ibid.

[61]   Kristof and WuDunn, *Half the Sky*, 123.

[62]   Andrews "Mist of the Misogyny."

[63]   Kristof and WuDunn, *Half the Sky*, 67.

[64]   Andrews "Mist of the Misogyny."

women. This is the greatest handicap of Muslim Middle Eastern societies today, the flaw that most bars them from modernity."[65] When literally half of the work force and brain power of a nation is considered worthless in the arena of politics and social control, a nation is essentially shooting itself in the foot. The mistreatment of women has become so endemic in Middle Eastern societies that gender inequality is no longer a mere war on women, it is an incredibly caustic force tearing apart families, economies, and societies.[66] "Many Indonesian scholars of Islam hold that the success of the Taliban and others hinges in part on the fact that throughout most of Islamic history women were not involved in the center of religion: in learning the Holy Scriptures, their interpretation, and their history."[67] Due to a lack of health care for girls, there are at least 3 percent more men than women in Middle Eastern societies. This contributes to a range of issues, including a societal bent toward violence, honor, and courage. Additionally, many men also have little hope of ever finding a partner due to the disproportionate number of men to women. In these countries, where girls are forced to become passive and silent from pre-teen years on, youth male groups tend to be particularly violent and destabilizing in society. "In other parts of the world, young men aged fifteen through twenty-four spend many of their waking moments chasing young women. In contrast, in conservative Muslim countries, some young men make war, not love."[68] The neglect of women in the Middle East has created a culture which is politically unstable and bent towards violence; one UN Arab Development Report stated, "The rise of women is in fact a prerequisite for an Arab renaissance."[69] For this reason, the education of women should be at the top of these nations' priority lists. With education comes valuable knowledge and enlightenment to the truth and reality that male and female are truly equal. "Empowering women begins with education."[70]

Middle Eastern Sexism and the Bible

Genesis 1:27 states, "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them."[71] The Bible has much to say about human rights; the idea that every living being has

---

[65] Kristof and WuDunn, *Half the Sky*, 160.

[66] Fisher, "Real Roots of Sexism."

[67] Pieternella van Doorn-Harter, *Women Shaping Islam: Reading the Qur'an in Indonesia*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 1.

[68] Kristof and WuDunn, *Half the Sky*, 158.

[69] Ibid., 159.

[70] Ibid., 66.

[71] ESV.

worth underlies the whole of Scripture. Isaiah 1:17 calls the Jews to "Seek justice, rescue the oppressed, defend the orphan, and plead for the widow." In John 8:1-11, we have a narrative about Jesus calling for mercy for the "woman caught in adultery." Here, he brings shame to the men who were planning on stoning her by reminding them of their own sinfulness. There are a plethora of verses within the Bible which call for a reversal of societal norms which would normally allow the strong to become stronger as they oppress the weak. The Bible was a revolutionary, progressive piece of literature in the time when it was written. May its themes continue to awaken in us a call and obligation to fight for the human rights of the oppressed, vulnerable, weak, and marginalized.

Concluding Thoughts

The issues surrounding gender traditions in the Middle East are extremely complex. One *must* respect the religion and culture out of which these issues arise, while also seeking to right the wrongs which have been created out of said religion and culture. One must recognize that the issue is multifaceted, comprising centuries of cultural influences as well as the effects of modern day politics. At the same time, there is reason to hope. The progressive Muslim movement is making strides in these cultures, reminding people of their religious roots, roots which are grounded in progressivism and a morally upright society. Islam must not be thought of as the venomous creature out of which misogyny has arisen. Justice for oppressed women is not the only reason to rise; the entire social structure of Middle Eastern societies has been undermined by the belief that women are somehow less worthy of education, healthcare, social involvement, protection, and basic human needs and rights. Scripture provides plenty of incentive to fight against the cultural norms which have allowed society to persist in such a manner. We have a reason to rise and, so, we must.

Bibliography

Andrews, Rita J. "The Mist of Misogyny." Engender. http://www.engender.org.za/publications/misogyny.pdf (Accessed November 5, 2013).

Eltahawy, Mona. "Why Do They Hate Us?" http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/04/23/why_do_they_hate_us (Accessed November 5, 2013).

Fisher, Max. "The Real Roots of Sexism in the Middle East (It's Not Islam, Race, or 'Hate')." *The Atlantic.* http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/04/the-real-roots-of-sexism-in-the-middle-east-its-not-islam-race-or-hate/256362/ (Accessed November 5, 2013).

Keddie, Nikki R. *Women in the Middle East: Past and Present.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Kristof, Nicholas D. and Sheryl WuDunn. *Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide.* New York: Vintage Books, 2010.

Lazreg, Marnia. *Questioning the Veil: Open Letters to Muslim Women.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Safi, Omid. *Progressive Muslims.* Oxford: Oneworld, 2003.

Shehadeh, Lamia Rustum. *The Idea of Women Under Fundamentalist Islam.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.

Timmons, Heather. "Why Do Groups of Men Attack Lone Women?" *The New York Times.* http://india.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/12/20/understanding-the-psychology-of-gang-rape/?_r=0(Accessed November 5, 2013).

Van Doorn-Harder, Pieternella. *Women Shaping Islam: Reading the Qur'an in Indonesia.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006.

Music in the Depths of Hell:
An Outlet for Emotions, Entertainment, and Torture in Nazi Concentration Camps from 1935-1945

Kate Oliphant

In the 1930s and 1940s, Europe was radically changed due to the introduction of concentration camps by the Germans. These camps housed a wide variety of prisoners, including Jews, homosexuals, political prisoners, Jehovah's Witnesses, and many others. Here, captives were sent to perform forced labor, await further transit, or be exterminated. Despite the harsh reality that was their life, these inmates partook in various forms of music-making. However, they were not the only ones present who used music; the guards and Nazi officials working in the concentration camps also employed music as a tool for various objectives. These two groups, guards and prisoners, shared similarities in the way they employed music despite their vastly different roles in the camps. However, not every purpose for music was the same. Although music was a popular event in both ghettos and propaganda camps like Terezin, this paper will not address these situations as they show a vastly different presentation of the way music was used. Instead, it will focus first on the application of music for the prisoners followed by the guards in the hostage, labor, POW, rehabilitation and re-education, transit, and extermination camps. While the guards and prisoners each saw music as a way to provide entertainment and a distraction for themselves in an otherwise unpleasant environment, the prisoners saw it more as an outlet for various coping mechanisms instead of the means of oppression the guards believed it was.

Entertainment was one of the most coveted uses of music for concentration camp prisoners. By the end of the war, many camps had their own *Lagerkapellen,* or official camp ensembles such as orchestras. These varied in size from only a few members to the 80-piece orchestra at Auschwitz.[1] Smaller groups would occasionally make trips to other blocks, or barracks, and even the infirmary to entertain their fellow prisoners.[2] Larger groups like the orchestras and choirs would perform outdoor concerts for the

---

[1]   Guido Fackler,"Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945," *Music & Politics* 1, no. 1 (Winter 2007): accessed September 23, 2013, http://www.music.ucsb.edu/ projects/ musicandpolitics/archive/2007-1/fackler.html.

[2]   Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 106.

entertainment of the prisoners and guards as one of their primary functions.[3] For example, in Birkenau outdoor concerts were conducted every Sunday afternoon as per the camp commander's orders.[4]   Similar concerts were consistently held in good weather at other camps including Buchenwald, Dachau, Gusen, Mauthausen, Neuengamme, and Stutthof.

However, access to these events was not necessarily guaranteed or even desired by some. There are accounts of prisoners refusing to attend concerts as they were a "painful reminder of better times."[5] Others simply did not have the opportunity to attend musical concerts due to their low status within the prison. In larger camps like Sachsenhausen, political prisoners were considered higher status and therefore had easier access to better conditions and music.[6] Conversely, some prisoners were considered lower class. Jews, for instance, were specifically targeted by guards as inherently inferior due to their biology traits established by the Nuremberg Laws. Therefore, they were often too preoccupied with surviving on their inferior food supply, clothes, housing, and work details. As such, they "had neither the strength nor the leisure to take part in musical activities."[7] In addition to public concerts, festivals and celebrations were well-received opportunities for musical entertainment. At Sachsenhausen, an a cappella group called The Sing-Sing Boys were known for performing at various birthday celebrations.[8] Moreover, holidays for the workers' movement were often celebrated with music in secret by political prisoners. These could include anything from commemorative days like International Workers' Day to the anniversaries of the deaths of movement leaders. Also, Christmas was often celebrated with the incorporation of music.[9] Another area open for musical entertainment was *Blockveranstaltungen,* or block performances, which were more private concerts held in the barracks on days of significance like birthdays or the release day for a prisoner. [10] Lastly, cabarets were performed in camps like Westebork where theatre was mixed with music for the enjoyment of both guards and prisoners.[11]

---

[3] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[4] Szymon Laks, *Music of Another World* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1989), 57.

[5] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[6] Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust,* 103.

[7] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[8] Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust,* 105.

[9] Guido Fackler, "The Early Concentration Camps," *Music and the Holocaust,* accessed September 23, 2013, http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/places/camps/music-early-camps/.

[10] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[11] Peter Jelavich, "Cabaret in Concentration Camps" in *Theatre and War 1933-1945: Performance in Extremis,* edited by Michael Balfour, 137-163 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 144.

In addition to amusement, music was used for distraction, often through nostalgia. The majority of songs sung in the camps used melodies that were well-known to the prisoners from school, former music lessons, family, friends, etc. This in turn reminded them of their previous lives and allowed a brief respite for some from their current predicament.[12] For instance, "My Gate," or "Moja brama," added new lyrics to a well-known Serbian tune.[13] Additionally, music gave refuge from the daily horrors of the camps. Austrian prisoner Viktor Frankl described this phenomenon in *Man's Search for Meaning*:

> A kind of cabaret was improvised from time to time…. They came to have a few laughs or perhaps to cry a little; anyway, to forget. There were songs, poems, jokes, some with underlying satire regarding the camp. All were meant to help us forget, and they did help. The gatherings were so effective that a few ordinary prisoners went to see the cabaret in spite of their fatigue even though they missed their daily portion of food by going.[14]

Likewise, French prisoner Fania Fénelon related an evening spent with her fellow orchestra members in the women's camp at Birkenau as allowing them to forget "the lights of the camp, the watchtowers, the electrified barbed wire, the smoky sky."[15]

Besides offering the chance to be distracted from the current situation, music gave prisoners an outlet to express and deal with their emotions. Aleksander Kulisiewicz, a prisoner at Sachsenhausen, composed "Moja brama" as a way to come to terms with one particular aspect of camp life: the "Indian Dance." This was a form of torture the *Sonderkommando*, or SS, were particularly fond of. It included forcing prisoners to "repeatedly raise their arms, stare at the sky, twist their bodies, drop to the ground, and stand up again," making many of them sick and many others pass out. During this punishment, Kulisiewicz found that if he focused on the camp gate while turning – similar to a dancer – he was able to endure the harsh treatment. His song "My Gate" details this procedure.[16] In response to these harsh emotions, music was also used as a means of creating hope. Harry Naujoks, a camp elder in Sachsenhausen, explained:

[12] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[13] "My Gate (Moja brama)," lyrics by Aleksander Kulisiewicz, music from Serbian popular song, 1944, accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, song, http://www.ushmm.org/exhibition/music/detail.php?content =mojabrama.

[14] Paul Cummins, *Dachau Song: The Twentieth-Century Odyssey of Herbert Zipper* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), 85.

[15] Fania Fénelon, *Playing for Time* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 45.

[16] "My Gate (Moja brama)," song.

> The main point in our performances was to prevent the people from sinking into resignation, to give them new courage, to enable them to switch off for a few hours. This was vital, because hopelessness was one of the greatest dangers in the camp. When an individual was affected, it could lead to suicide, when whole groups were affected it could lead to disorganization and behavior that could bring down serious trouble with the SS.[17]

The performances Naujoks was referring to were known as *Schallerabende*, communal sing-songs arranged by prisoners specifically to boost the camp morale. The songs used at the Schallerabende were easy for the audience to participate in as they did not require music-reading abilities, practice, preparation, or instruments. However, these performances could only do so much to raise the prisoners' spirits since very few were actually able to attend them.[18] Finally, music dealt with the emotions of prisoners through religion. This is seen in the accounts of prisoners at Auschwitz-Birkenau singing traditional Jewish prayers in an effort to have their faith expressed through music shield them from complete depression and apathy.[19]

Prisoners also used music as a way of criticizing fellow prisoners. Kulisiewicz's "Zimno, panie!" or "It's Cold, Sir!" is a prime example of this. Kulisiewicz was interrogated by the SS after two fellow prisoners, both upper-class Poles, turned him in for writing and performing songs derisive towards the Nazis and camp officials. The two Poles were motivated by the prospect of gaining favors from their captors. In "It's Cold, Sir!" Kulisiewicz chastises two prisoners known as Lulusinksi and the Count for behavior similar to the two real-life Poles.[20]

Spiritual resistance, or various forms of unarmed opposition, was a common venue for music. One example of this was the creation of songs with hidden messages of defiance. These could be sung around the guards without fear of them understanding and punishing the singers. The opera composed in Buchenwald known as "Buchhäuser oder Läusekrieg auf der Waldburg," also called "The Denizens of Buchenwald House" and "The Lice War of Waldburg," told the story of the prisoners' battle with lice, a daily struggle for them. However, in actuality, the lice represented the SS. This message was hidden well enough for a public camp performance in 1944.[21]

---

[17] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[18] Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust*, 107.

[19] Gideon Greif, *We Wept Without Tears: Testimonies of the Jewish Sonderkommando from Auschwitz* (US: Yale University Press, 2005), 37.

[20] "It's Cold, Sir! (Zimno, panie!)," lyrics by Aleksander Kulisiewicz, music from camp adaptation of an unidentified tune, 1944, accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, song, http://www.ushmm.org/exhibition/music/ detail.php?content=zimno.

[21] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

Another example of spiritual resistance through music was in the creation of new protest songs, or *KZ-Lieder*. One of the most well-known of these is "Dachau Lied," or "Dachau Song," which was written by Herbert Zipper and Jura Soyfer and had a rebellious tone. Despite being written in Dachau, this song was able to spread to various other camps as prisoners were occasionally transferred.[22] Zipper and Soyfer wrote it as an ironic response to Dachau's motto written above the gate to the camp, "Arbeit Macht Frei," or "Work Makes Freedom." The song makes reference to marching to work in silence surrounded by "barbed wire, loaded with death;" the solution according to the song is to become "as hard as steel: / Be a man, comrade, / stay a human being, comrade, / do a good job, get to it, comrade, / for work, work makes you free!" Believing that exercising the brain would increase prisoners' self-respect, Zipper and Soyfer intentionally made "Dachau Song" hard to learn, "hoping the challenge would help their comrades rise above their surroundings."[23]

Spiritual resistance through music was also achieved through secret concerts. The orchestra in Dachau would hold concerts in an un-used latrine. These concerts were partially done to create a sense of freedom from the oppression of the guards, for "here at least was a breathing space where the Nazis did not control everything they did."[24] This was a form of resistance toward the Nazi policy of viewing the prisoners as subhuman, serving to give the prisoners a renewed sense of dignity, purpose, and civilization.[25] Prisoners also used humor in music as nonviolent resistance. By making fun of the guards and Nazis, the prisoners undermined their ability to intimidate and create fear. Kulisiewicz's song "Czarny Böhm," or "Black Böhm," made fun of a Sachsenhausen Kapo who apparently resembled an ape and was uncannily enthusiastic about his job as a cremation specialist. First performed by Kulisiewicz at a cabaret for the prisoners in Block 23 of Sachsenhausen, the song was from the perspective of Böhm and said, "Both by day and by night, / I smoke corpses with all my might! / I let out a black black smoke, / For I am the black black Böhm!" Performances often depict Böhm as eccentric, making him seem less fierce than he really was.[26]

There was also a higher chance of survival for musicians due to their elevated status in the camps. To begin with, it provided them with better

[22] Cummins, *Dachau Song*, 89-90.

[23] "Dachau Song (Dachau Lied)," lyrics by Jura Soyfer, music by Herbert Zipper, 1938, accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, song, http://www.ushmm.org/exhibition/music/detail.php?content=dachau.

[24] Cummins, *Dachau Song*, 86.

[25] Ibid, 86.

[26] "Black Böhm (Czarny Böhm)," lyrics by Aleksander Kulisiewicz, music from camp adaptation of *i szumyt, i hudyt*, 1942, accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, song, http://www.ushmm.org/exhibition/music/ detail.php?content=bohm.

living essentials. The women in the Birkenau orchestra were given better living quarters, clothes, showers, and even coffee.[27] These same women also received double rations for soup and bread supplements.[28] In addition, musicians received easier work details. Szymon Laks, Kapellmeister of the men's Birkenau orchestra, was able to convince his superiors to assign his musicians to easier work "which would enable them to retain the nimbleness of their hands and fingers and thereby ensure a better sound and a more rhythmic cadence of the marches."[29] He was also able to persuade the guards to send the orchestra inside during bad weather under the guise of protecting the instruments. In reality, Laks was attempting to keep his musicians healthy.[30] He described the break from hard labor as restoring "more strength to me than the most plentiful nourishment."[31] Music also presented a unique opportunity to acquire favor from music-loving members of the SS. For example, Auschwitz SS officer Thies Christophersen was a fan of Gypsy music. As such, he would purposefully give preferential treatment to any Gypsies in his work detail. This allowed them a fair amount of protection from random beatings as well as other privileges that increased their likelihood to survive. By no means, though, did this guarantee life for the Gypsy prisoners. The SS could and did take away their protection status whenever they had finished with their music.[32] Musicians could also help more than themselves. Erich Frost, a member of the Jehovah Witnesses and therefore a prisoner at Sachsenhausen, was often called by the SS to play harmonica for their parties. By doing this, Frost elevated his block's status in the minds of the camp workers, which in turn made them treat Frost and his peers better.[33] Despite giving them more of a chance, survival was not assured for musicians. They were still subject to disease, the gas chambers, and the wires, one method of suicide in which prisoners would throw themselves on the electric wires surrounding the camp.[34]

Music in concentration camps was also an integral part of the guards' lives as a source of entertainment. Concerts were given specifically for the SS, occasionally after selections were made so that the men could relax from their stressful work.[35] Oftentimes, *kapos* and other leaders would

---

[27] Fénelon, *Playing for Time*, 31-34, 50.

[28] Laks, *Music of Another World*, 101.

[29] Ibid., 66.

[30] Ibid., 66.

[31] Ibid., 43.

[32] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[33] Ibid.

[34] Laks, *Music of Another World*, 48.

[35] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

force a few musically inclined prisoners to perform privately for them in their own quarters.[36] Outdoor concerts by the orders of the commander in Birkenau were held every Sunday afternoon and provided an opportunity for musical entertainment for the prisoners as well as the guards.[37] The guards were not unified in their taste in music, though. Upper class staff members typically favored classical music. Conversely, those on the lower end of the hierarchy created and maintained small ensembles chosen from the official orchestra to play more common music during their bouts of drinking, feasts, and orgies.[38]

Some camp commanders were such music lovers that they would order ensembles, pieces, and songs to be made. For example, "Buchenwaldlied," or "Buchenwald Song," was commissioned by the leader of the camp, as was "Sachsenhausenlied," or "Sachsenhausen Song." In some instances, musical performances went beyond receiving approval to obtaining all-out support from the commanders. One such occasion was the cabarets performed in Westerbork, where theatre was mixed with music for entertainment of the guards and prisoners alike. SS Commandant Konrad Gemmeker not only approved these cabarets, he supported them with money, costumes, and sets.[39]

Many lower-level SS members were devout music-lovers and would create groups of "musical slaves" to entertain themselves. While these prisoners received special privileges in return for playing music, they did not have an opportunity to refuse the command.[40] Music was also used as entertainment in order to relax after mass killings. For instance, *Rottenführer* Pery Broad at Birkenau was often known to partake in music following the selections as a way of decompressing from his role in the killings.[41] Music also became a part of celebrations in the camps. On the camp commander of Birkenau's birthday, music was demanded of the orchestra for the entertainment of the guards as well as to make the commander's trip to the camp more enjoyable.[42] Entertainment was also achieved through musical rivalries. Camp commanders like the one at Birkenau often competed with each other to have the best *Lagerkapellen*. Many times "ambitious camp commanders emulated what they had seen in other camps, and of course the prestige and cultural status of having their 'own' prisoners' orchestra

---

[36] Laks, *Music of Another World*, 55.

[37] Ibid, 57.

[38] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[39] Jelavich, "Cabaret in Concentration Camps," 144.

[40] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[41] Laks, *Music of Another World*, 82.

[42] Ibid, 82-83.

was also an incentive."[43] This prideful competition led to the creation of more and more camp ensembles, such as the orchestra at the female camp in Birkenau.[44]

Another use for music was to impose Nazi ideas on the prisoners. The guards at the concentration camps would occasionally use a form of re-education called tannoy. This consisted of playing nationalistic German music such as Richard Wagner over loudspeakers and was especially popular in camps with high numbers of political prisoners.[45] In addition, the music played by the *Lagerkapellen* was meant to "encourage work and the joy of life in the name of the camp slogan *Arbeit macht frei* (Work makes man free)."[46] The guards also reinforced Nazi policies on the prisoners by having special musical performances for special Nazi public holidays like Adolf Hitler's birthday.[47] In addition, SS member Kurt Hubert Franz of Treblinka composed "Treblinkalied," or "Treblinka Song," which soon was a requirement for all the prisoners to learn.[48] The lyrics in the song did not accurately reflect the lives of the internees, but rather they showed what the Nazis wanted the prisoners to believe, using phrases like "all that matters to us now is Treblinka," "we know only the word of our Commander," "we know only obedience and duty," and "we want to serve."[49]

In addition to enforcing Nazi beliefs on the prisoners, music served a role as a method of reducing the odds of resistance or rescue. Although this paper is not focused the propaganda camp Terezin, it is important to note that many commanders used the *Lagerkapellen* to make their camps look more humane than they actually were. This was essential in fooling the delegations from the International Red Cross who visited camps like Esterwegen and Terezin.[50] The camp commanders also used the *Lagerkapellen* to let prisoners think they had some amount of control. This would reduce the chance for rebellion by diverting attention from what was actually happening. The previously mentioned method of tannoy, or playing music from mobile loudspeakers, was also used during executions to drown out screams, confuse, and quiet those waiting to be killed. For instance, the extermination camp Majdanek used dance music like the

---

[43] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[44] Laks, Music of Another World, 100.

[45] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[46] Laks, Music of Another World, 17.

[47] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[48] Ibid.

[49] "Treblinka Song (Treblinkalied)," from *Shoah, directed by Claude Lanzmann, 1985, Franz Suchomel performance from http://www.youtube.com /watch?v=yC6Y2IBUSb4.*

[50] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

fox-trot during these killings for these aforementioned purposes while the guards at Sachsenhausen used marching music. When interrogated, Former SS-Medical Director Heinz Baumkötter said that the music was meant to "ensure that the next prisoner did not hear the shot that killed his predecessor." Furthermore, the loud music bolstered the courage of those doing the killings.[51] Without the music to quiet them, the prisoners were more likely to ascertain what was about to befall them and make trouble for the guards. Lastly, music was used by the guards to decrease the threat of the internees revolting by making concessions and allowing musical concerts to provide entertainment for the prisoners.[52]

A similarly related use for music was a means of control for the guards. For example, the *Lagerkapellen* could be cancelled at any time for any reasons. This meant that music was only allowed if the guards decided it was, giving them more authority and control over the prisoners.[53] Fania Fénelon called the orchestra a "product of caprice" that could "vanish in the same way."[54] On top of the tentative nature of the *Lagerkapellen,* guards used music from the orchestras to keep time while the inmates were marching.[55] Furthermore, guards could demand music on command from any prisoner or even the orchestra itself. Stefan Baretzky, a *Blockführer* at Birkenau, ordered the orchestra to play "Deutsche Eichen," or "German oaks," whenever they saw him, even if from a distance. Once, the orchestra failed to play it upon his arrival and was several punished with the aforementioned Indian Dance.[56] In addition, guards would force prisoners to sing at the early hours of roll call for several hours at a time. If the prisoners did not know the song, sang too loudly, or sang too softly, they were beaten.[57] This tactic intimidated unassertive prisoners, making them easier to control. This music on command was a way of showing the prisoners that the guards had absolute control over them. One other way was to prohibit the playing and singing of certain pieces and composers. For instance, Laks recalled that the commander at Birkenau stopped the orchestra from playing "Argonner Wald," or "Argonne Forest," because the Germans had lost this battle as well as "Gruss an Obersalzberg," or "Greetings to Obersalzberg," because Obersalzberg was a well-known home of Hitler and an orchestra

[51]   Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[52]   Fackler, "The Early Concentration Camps."

[53]   Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[54]   Fénelon, *Playing for Time*, 39.

[55]   Laks, *Music of Another World*, 36-38.

[56]   Ibid., 74-76.

[57]   Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

made up of mostly Jews was not deemed fit to greet him.[58] This shows that the guards controlled not only if the inmates could engage in music in public but what kind of music was permitted. Finally, camp commanders who had certain "cultural pretensions" would often use the orchestra to make the camp conditions appear more orderly and controlled than they were while being inspected.[59]

While all of these uses for music were valid to the guards, the most common of all was to use it as a tool for humiliation. Oftentimes, music was employed as background noise during punishments and executions, furthering the shame that came with them. On one instance in the Mauthausen concentration camp, Hans Bonarewitz was led to his execution by the camp ensemble after a failed escape attempt.[60] Bonarewitz's story shows that the guards were not content with merely killing the prisoners. They had to go one step further and make sure that the way in which they died was as degrading as possible. Prison guards would also force their captives to sing songs that were specifically aimed at upsetting them. These songs could agitate prisoners on a moral level by using dirty lyrics, a political level by making Communists and Social Democrats sing songs from the workers' movement, or a religious level by forcing devout prisoners to sing their religious songs amid the suffering they were witnessing. They would also target Jews by making them sing the "Judenlied," or "Jews' Song," which had shameful lyrics like, "For hundreds of years we cheated the people, / no swindle was too outrageous / we wangled, we lied, we cheated, we narked / whatever the currency, the crown or the mark."[61] Moreover, guards would once again use the tannoy method to torment their victims. German victories were announced via loudspeakers, followed by upbeat march music. In Ravensbrück, the failed attempt to assassinate Hitler was announced via loudspeaker to its female prisoners, closely followed by march music. This tactic rubbed the German successes in the faces of the prisoners, adding insult to injury. [62]

In the concentration camps of Europe, music was exploited by both guards and prisoners as a means of entertainment and distraction. The internees, however, mostly saw music as a way to confront their situation by creating an outlet for criticism of their fellow prisoners, helping them deal with the emotional aspects of camp life, fostering spiritual resistance, and increasing survival odds. Conversely, the guards felt music was primarily a

---

[58] Laks, *Music of Another World*, 71-72.

[59] Fackler, "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945."

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

tool for oppression through the imposition of Nazi ideas, lessening the odds of resistance or rescue, maintaining control, and belittling their captives in any way possible. Although their overall intentions for music often differed, both groups saw music as a vital part of their camp lives.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

"Black Böhm (Czarny Böhm)." Lyrics by Aleksander Kulisiewicz. Music from camp adaptation of *i szumyt, i hudyt.* 1942. Accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Song.

"Dachau Song (Dachau Lied)." Lyrics by Jura Soyfer. Music by Herbert Zipper. 1938. Accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Song.

Fénelon, Fania. *Playing for Time.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997.

"Heil, Sachsenhausen." Lyrics by Aleksander Kulisiewicz. Music by M. Miksne. 1943. Accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Song.

"It's Cold, Sir! (Zimno, panie!)." Lyrics by Aleksander Kulisiewicz. Music from camp adaptation of an unidentified tune. 1944. Accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Song.

Jani, Emilio. *My Voice Saved Me: Auschwitz 180046.* Milano: Centauro Editrice, 1961.

Kalisch, Shoshana, and Barbara Meister, editors. *Yes, We Sang!: Songs of the Ghettos and Concentration Camps.* New York: Harper & Row, 1985.

Laks, Szymon. *Music of Another World.* Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1989.

Lasker-Wallfisch, Anita. *Inherit the Truth, 1939-1945: The Documented Experiences of a Survivor of Auschwitz and Belsen.* London: Giles de la Mare, 1996.

"Mister C." Lyrics by Aleksander Kulisiewicz. Music by H. Wars. 1940. Accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Song.

"Muselmann – Cigarette Butt Collector (Muselmann – Kippensammler)." Lyrics by Aleksander Kulisiewicz. Music from adapted circus tunes "Szanghai" and "Zulejka." 1940 and 1943. Accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Song.

"My Gate (Moja brama)." Lyrics by Aleksander Kulisiewicz. Music from Serbian popular song. 1944. Accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Song.

"Second Helping (Repeta)." Lyrics by Aleksander Kulisiewicz. Music from *Precz, precz od nas smutek wszelki.* 1941. Accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Song.

"The Soldiers of the Moor (Die Moorsoldaten)." Lyrics by Johann Esser and Wolfgang Langhoff. Music by Rudi Goguel. 1933. Accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Song.

"Stand Fast (Fest steht)." Lyrics by Erich Frost. Music by Erich Frost. 1942. Accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Song.

"There Lies Treblinka (Treblinke Dort)." Lyrics by anonymous. Music by Eduardo Bianco. Accessed from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Song.

"Treblinka Song (Treblinkalied)." From *Shoah. Directed by Claude Lanzmann, 1985. Franz Suchomel performance from http://www.youtube.com/watch ?v=yC6Y2lBUSb4.*

Secondary Sources

Adler, Eliyana R. "No Raisins, No Almonds: Singing as Spiritual Resistance to the Holocaust." *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 24, no. 4 (2006): 50-66.

Avital, Moshe. "The Role of Songs and Music During the Holocaust." *Journal of Jewish Liturgy and Music,* 31 (2011-2012): 51-60.

Cummins, Paul. *Dachau Song: The Twentieth-Century Odyssey of Herbert Zipper.* New York: Peter Lang, 1992.

Eckhard, John, and Ernest F. Livingstone. "Music and concentration camps: an approximation." *Journal Of Musicological Research* no. 4 (2001): 269. *Academic OneFile,* EBSCO*host* (accessed October 21, 2013).

Fackler, Guido. "The Early Concentration Camps." *Music and the Holocaust. Accessed September 23, 2013. http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/places /camps/ music-early-camps/.*

———. "Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945." *Music & Politics* 1, no. 1 (Winter 2007). Accessed September 23, 2013. http://www.music.ucsb.edu/ projects/musicandpolitics/archive/2007-1/fackler.html

Freeman, LH. "Transcending circumstances: seeking holism at Auschwitz." *Holistic Nursing Practice* 16, no. 5 (October 2002): 32-39. *CINAHL Plus with Full Text*, EBSCO*host* (accessed October 21, 2013).

Gilbert, Shirli. "Music as historical source: social history and musical texts." *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 36 vol. 1 (2005), 117-134.

———. *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005.

Greif, Gideon. *We Wept Without Tears: Testimonies of the Jewish Sonderkommando from Auschwitz.* US: Yale University Press, 2005.

Jelavich, Peter. "Cabaret in Concentration Camps." In *Theatre and War 1933-1945: Performance in Extremis*, edited by Michael Balfour, 137-163. New York: Berghahn Books, 2001.

Loselle, Andrea. "Performing in the Holocaust: From Camp Songs to the Song Plays of Germaine Tillion and Charlotte Salomon." *Space Between: Literature & Culture, 1914-1945* 6, no. 1 (December 2010): 13. *Supplemental Index*, EBSCO*host* (accessed September 21, 2013).

Moreno, Joseph. "Orpheus in hell: Music and therapy in the Holocaust." *The Arts In Psychotherapy* 26, no. 1 (1999): 3-14. *PsycINFO*, EBSCO*host* (accessed September 21, 2013).

The American Revolution
from the British Perspective

Virginia Priest

In 1776, thirteen of the British colonies in North America declared independence from the mother country and in 1783 formally achieved that independence. The American Revolutionary War is often portrayed by American textbooks and viewed by citizens of the U.S. as a war in which good North American colonists fought against a tyrannical government in favor of equality and liberty. For example, the Harcourt *United States History, Canada, Mexico, and Central America,* mentions only the reasons for American resistance to the taxes passed by Britain, not British reasons for implementing these taxes.[1] Phrases such as "No taxation without representation," which appear frequently in textbooks, point an accusing finger at the British government. While some contemporaries of the Revolution may well have viewed it is such a light, others viewed the colonies and the Revolution in a far less positive manner.

This essay does not attempt to overturn the idea of a glorious colonial triumph over tyranny, but rather to examine how the American Revolution was viewed and reacted to by the British. The majority of British citizens and those within the British government viewed the revolutionary activity in a negative light; however, they still perceived the American revolutionaries as British subjects, which resulted in prolonging the war and the eventual loss of the colonies. Thus the British people's perception of the war shaped the revolutionary experience itself in important ways.

In the mid-1700s, the British Empire held territory across the globe with colonies in Canada, North America, the Caribbean, Africa, India, and Australia. Although colonists were separated from the mother country by great distances, and in many cases by generations, they considered themselves to be British subjects with British rights. These rights were protected by the British constitution. The constitution did not exist in a single written document, but in the collection of every law and judicial ruling ever passed, and it continually evolved as laws were created to address new issues. This made it much more difficult to interpret the rights of the people, as they were

---

[1] Michael J. Berson, *Harcourt Horizons: United States History, Canada, Mexico, & Central America,* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Inc., 2003).

not explicitly stated in any one organized location and these rights had the potential to change over time. Disagreements over the power of Parliament to make and enforce laws in the Americas were at the heart of the conflict that developed. The American Revolution was made up of British citizens rebelling against the British government, due to differing interpretations of the rights that belonged to subjects of the nation. The American Revolution was in fact a civil war fought by British citizens over the meaning of British rights.[2]

At the onset of the American Revolution, many British citizens and government officials viewed this civil war as one led by a minority. These rebels were seen as rising up against British traditions and the British constitution in order to gain power through the use of tyrannical tactics. King George III shared this view with many others in Britain.[3] For this reason British policies toward the American colonies during the war aimed to end the revolt without inciting resentment among citizens who remained loyal to the mother country, the loyalists, who were believed to be in the majority.[4] If the British government was too harsh on the colonies when putting down the rebellion, it could easily have created lasting animosity among those who were loyal to the crown. If this were to happen, the result could have been another American Revolution with larger numbers of patriots for the British to contend with. Yet the British overestimated the number of colonists who were in support of their rule. In their attempt to avoid making enemies of the loyalists, the British failed to act harshly enough to win a decisive victory and end the rebellion.

Not only were the colonies misperceived as loyal for the greater part, they were also seen as dependent on the British empire as a whole. The American colonies traded with Britain and other colonies of Britain. If they were separated from the empire by radicals, it was believed that they would likely fail. Ironically, this thought prompted some in England to promote American independence, because it would teach the radicals a lesson in attempting to overthrow the British government.[5] This mentality is evident

---

[2]   Maya Jasanoff, "The Other Side of Revolution: Loyalists in the British Empire," *William and Mary Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (April 2008): 207. The author claims that the American Revolution was seen as a civil war by both sides involved.

[3]   H.T. Dickenson, "George III and Parliament," *Parliamentary History 30, no. 3* (October 2011): 412.

[4]   Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution and the Fate of the Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 11. "…the British government attributed the revolution to the machinations of a small minority of revels who wanted to seize power and declare independence. The government regarded the revolutionaries as establishing tyranny with their suppression of all dissent and their use of coercion to enforce compliance."

[5]   Benjamin W. Labaree, "The Idea of American Independence: The British View, 1774-1776," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 82* (1974): 13-14.

in a poem written by English writer, Soame Jenyns. The poem compares the colonies to wayward horses, which once freed from the carriage, would "sneak back, their folly see, and run no more away."[6]

In reality, the North American colonies were quite capable of political and economic independence.[7] The colonies had long traded illegally with other nations through smuggling. These connections could have provided them with the outlets necessary to thrive economically outside the British Empire. The North American colonies also had their own forms of government in place for many years. State legislatures and town meetings held in New England were two of the ways in which the colonies preformed self-government. Political and economic stability were necessary if the colonies were to thrive without British intervention, and in theses respects the colonies seemed to be headed in the right direction.

Safety was a third factor that was necessary in order for the colonies to succeed independent of Great Britain. The French and the Native Americans along the north and western boarders of the North American colonies posed a constant threat to colonists in the backcountry who sought to move westward. Yet the Seven Years War helped reduce this threat, when the British conquered the French and Native Americans in 1763. Politically, economically, and militarily the colonies were in an opportune moment for independence in the 1770s.

In order to determine why the British believed their position in the Revolutionary War to be just, the causes of rebellion must be examined. While the British policies enacted in the colonies roused colonial resistance and resentment, in Britain the policies were seen to be in the best interest of the Empire as a whole and as upholding the constitution, and therefore justified. The aforementioned Seven Years War resulted in the creation and enforcement of some of the policies that led to the American Revolution.

While the threat of attack on the western border was lessened by British victory in the Seven Years War, it was not completely removed. In order to try and prevent future conflict with the Native peoples, Parliament passed the Proclamation of 1763, limiting colonists' westward movement. This was intended to prevent colonists from encroaching upon the territory

---

[6] Martin Kallich and Andrew MacLeish, eds., *The American Revolution Through British Eyes* (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1962), 84-85. Kallich and MacLeish provide a reprint of Soame Jenyns' poem America, which was originally printed in The Annual Register in 1776, p. 204.

[7] Bernard Donoughue, *British Politics and the American Revolution: The Path to War 1773-75* (London: Macmillan, 1964), 1-2. Donoughue states that following the Seven Years War, the American colonies no longer required the protection of the British military from the French and Spanish. He also says the colonies were capable of thriving economically and politically on their own.

held by Native Americans, and to prevent another war from erupting. Colonists disliked being confined to the eastern boarder of the continent and wished to continue their westward movement in order to gain land.

Lord George Grenville, first lord from 1763 to 1765, used his position to push several acts through Parliament, which further angered colonists. Grenville believed that the colonists should be taxed in order to help pay for troops stationed in the colonies to defend them and prevent conflict. This tax was approximately sixpence a year, where those in England were paying approximately twenty-five shillings a year.[8] Those in Britain carried a much heavier tax burden than subjects located in the colonies, and it seemed fitting to British leaders for the colonists to contribute monetarily in order to provide for their own safety.[9]

Colonists were again angered when Parliament passed the Sugar Act in 1764 with Grenville's support. This placed a tax on molasses imported from outside of the British Empire. Unlike previous acts with similar purposes, Grenville intended to enforce the Sugar Act and prevent smuggling.[10] The Stamp Act, passed in 1765, was also supported by Grenville and implemented by Parliament in order to raise revenue. The Stamp Act charged a tax on paper; among the items taxed under this act were passports, playing cards, and pamphlets. These taxes were lower than previous taxes charged in the colonies and were also very low in comparison to what was being paid by those living in Britain, but their collection was actually enforced.[11]

Following the passage of these taxes, colonists retaliated through boycotts and violence against government officials. Not only were the taxes resisted in the colonies, but resistance was also present in England. Merchants fearing the economic results of the conflict with the Americas presented petitions to the government in an effort to promote peace. One such petition was submitted by a group of London merchants, explaining the importance of trade with the colonies and requesting that Parliament relieve the crisis.[12] The majority of these petitions urged the government to

---

[8] Christopher Hibbert, *Redcoats and Rebels: The American Revolution Through British Eyes* (New York: Norton, 1990), xviii.

[9] I.R. Christie, *Crisis of Empire: Great Britain and the American Colonies 1774-1783* (New York: Norton, 1966.), 44-46. Christie gives greater detail about where the greatest need for defense existed and the reasoning behind requiring taxes from the colonies during war times.

[10] Christie, xix.

[11] A complete copy of the Stamp Act and Sugar Act, with the taxes on particular goods can be found at "Timeline of the Revolutionary War," US History.org. Accessed November 12, 2013.

[12] Kallich, 16-18. This is a reprint from William Cobbett, *The Parliamentary History of England* (London: T.C. Hansard, 1806-20), vol. XVI: 133.

take conciliatory measures in dealing with the colonists, while the minority sought coercive measures.[13] In either case, the people sought an end to the conflict.

British Government was led to retract the Sugar and Stamp Acts, but to also pass more taxes in an effort to regain control and raise revenue from the colonies. The Townshend Duties and Tea Tax were two such taxes passed by Parliament. The colonists argued against these taxes, stating that they were not given proper representation in Parliament. Parliament, however, disagreed stating that the colonists had virtual representation in parliament, although they were unable to vote. This seemed reasonable to the majority of Parliament, because many citizens living in Britain did not have the ability to vote and were also represented virtually. For the Americans to question virtual representation was to question the validity of the British Constitution.

Not only did the British government seek to gain revenue to pay for the expensive war they had waged on behalf of the American colonists, they also sought to aid the East India Trading Company. This was the main purpose of the Tea Act, which taxed tea sold by other companies as a commodity. The East India Trading Company was in danger of bankruptcy. The company was an important asset to the British economy, therefore the tax on tea in the colonies was meant to promote purchasing East India tea.[14] Colonists could purchase tea tax free from the East India Company, and would only have to pay tax on tea from other sources. The tax on tea was viewed by the government as being for the good of the Empire as a whole, as it would aid the economy of Britain. A tax on foreign tea would not have been considered outrageous by British officials, as this was a commodity and not a necessity. Later, when Parliament repealed some of the taxes it had placed on the colonies, First Minister Lord North refused to repeal the Tea Tax on the basis that it was a "luxury tax."[15]

Tensions between Great Britain and the North American Colonies continued to rise, as the Americans lashed out against British control. As tensions rose the British press depicted Americans in a riotous, rebellious light. The engraving "A New Method of Macarony Making, as Practiced at Boston in North America," shows how the British public viewed the acts of

---

[13]   James E. Bradley, *Popular Politics and the American Revolution in England* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986), 31. According to Bradley, fifteen conciliatory petitions and six coercive petitions were submitted to the government. Bradley goes into greater in his work about the petitions submitted by the British public. He states that is difficult to tell how many people signed these petitions, as the number of signatures for most of them were not recorded, but that "they certainly did not appear to pose a great threat to the government" (27).

[14]   O'Shaughnessy, 51-52.

[15]   O'Shaughnessy, 51.

mob violence committed by the American colonists (see Appendix, Fig. 1).[16] The image shows two American Patriots tarring and feathering a loyalist. One of the Patriots holds a teapot in his hand, while the other holds a club and a rope tied around the neck of the loyalist. The patriots appear to be laughing maliciously at the suffering of the man covered in feathers. One of the Patriots is wearing a hat adorned with the number 45. Forty-five became significant when John Wilkes was arrested for liable against King George III, when Wilkes criticized the King in an article in issue 45 of *The North Briton*.[17] Forty-five became a symbol for liberty and reform of the British government, but conversely represented extremism and potential treason.

"Bostonians in Distress" is another image published in Britain that also exemplifies the British view of the acts committed by the American patriots (see Appendix, Fig. 2).[18] In this print, Patriots have captured Bostonian loyalists in a cage hanging from a liberty tree. The captives are being fed fish by the men, as if they were animals. One of the caged men is handing papers labeled "promises" to the patriots, indicating the oaths to follow the rebels wishes that some were forced to take. Another man stands in the cage holding a paper with Psalm 107:19, "They cried unto the Lord in their trouble, and he saved them out of their distress." In the background are British troops and ships, indicating from where the help they are asking for should come. It is clear from this image that the actions of the patriots were looked upon as brutal and that at least some in Britain believed that military action was necessary to end the conflict.

These images were created in 1774, around the same time as the Boston Tea Party. They show the viewer the injustices committed by those who claimed to be fighting for liberty. To a British citizen, American patriots could be easily viewed as tyrannical destroyers of liberty. Numerous prints such as these were created in Britain, and make it much easier to understand how the British viewed the Rebellion that was occurring in the Americas. Just as the Patriots believed their rights were being infringed upon by a tyrannical government, the British believed that the loyal citizens were being bullied by tyrannical rebels striving to gain power. Radicals such as Wilkes and the Patriots threatened the liberty and livelihood of loyal subjects to the

---

[16]   "A New Method of Macarony Making, as Practiced at Boston in North America," engraving, 1774 (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts) BM 5232. Originally printed for Carrington Bowles, no. 69 in St. Paul's Church Yard, London.

[17]   Arthur H. Cash, *John Wilkes: The Scandalous Father of Civil Liberty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). This book gives greater detail on the life and influence of John Wilkes as an English radical. Chapter five (pages 96-120) of Cash's work focuses specifically on the events surrounding issue 45 of *The North Briton*.

[18]   "The Bostonians in Distress," engraving, 19 Nov. 1774 (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts) BM 5241. Originally printed for R. Sayer and J. Bennett, Map and Printsellers, no. 53 Fleet Street.

crown. The British government was within its rights to take action against the American rebels, because not only were they refusing to abide by the laws that were in place, but they were also attempting to use terrorism to make others conform.

Following the Boston Tea Party, Parliament passed the Boston Port Act, closing the port of Boston. Parliament also passed the Quebec Act, and the Quartering Act in 1775 as part of a series which came to be known in America as the Intolerable Acts. Rather than allowing the British government to regain control of the colonies, as intended, these acts caused tensions with the colonies to increase.

"America in Flames," was published for the Town and Country Magazine in Britain in 1775 (see Appendix, Fig. 3).[19] This image shows an old lady who represents America sitting in the center of a fire. Some men stand around her desperately trying to put out the flames. The two figures above the woman are Lord Mansfield and Lord Bute. Both Bute and Mansfield were important members of Parliament, with Bute serving as First Minister from 1762-63 and Mansfield serving as Chief Justice. The two men hold bellows, which they are using to fan the flames. On the bellows is written the Quebec Bill and the Massachusetts Bay, representing the closing of the Boston Port, which Lord North is holding on the right side of the image. In the foreground of the cartoon are four men trying to put out the fire with water hoses and buckets. These are the people that would have opposed the government's actions, realizing that they were only making the situation worse.

This print shows that not everyone in Britain agreed with the government's method for dealing with the unruly colonists. In this image the two acts passed by the government in order to help regain control of the colonies are worsening the issue rather than resolving it. The creator of this work realized that the acts were fueling resentment in the colonies and increasing tensions between them and the mother country. "America in Flames" gives evidence that there were differing opinions in Britain about how to deal with the colonists and that not all citizens agreed that the government's methods were for the best. Although it is impossible to know the exact number, it is clear that a portion of the British public thought that a less aggressive approach was necessary in dealing with the colonists; these opinions later affected the manner in which the government approached war with the colonies, resulting in actions that were aimed at reconciliation rather than conquering.

In "America in Flames" King George III is nowhere to be found, while America burns. His absence in the image is interpreted as doing nothing to either stop Parliament from passing these bills or to help enforce them. This

---

[19] "America in Flames," woodcut, 1775 (American Antiquarian Society, Worchester Massachusetts) BM 5282. Originally published for the *Town and Country Magazine*.

lack of involvement in the crisis and acts runs contrary to the view of George III that later emerged in the Declaration of Independence.

In a final effort to avoid war with Britain, the colonists attempted to deal directly with King George III. The Olive Branch Petition was created in 1775 and sent to the king by the colonists. In the Petition the colonists reaffirmed their loyalty to Britain and to the King, but denied the authority of Parliament. George III rejected the peace offer because it denied the authority of Parliament, which it rightfully had according to the British constitution.[20] His actions were in the best interest of the government as a whole. If George III had decided to go against Parliament it would have weakened the government, by destroying his relationship with Parliamentary members. Although he rejected the Petition, George III still sought to reconcile with the colonies, because he believed that if the "American colonies were lost" it would destroy the British constitution.[21]

One year later, in 1776, the American Declaration of Independence was written. This document is directed at George III, and shows the bitterness towards him that the Patriots now felt. The Declaration of Independence listed grievances against the King, whom colonists had been ready to work with only a year earlier in order to bring about peace. The Declaration of Independence also marked a turning point in the war, clearly marking a shift in attitude of the colonists. They no longer sought reconciliation with Britain and reforms to allow the colonies to function with more self-control; they now strove for complete independence from Britain.

Historian H.T. Dickenson states that George III's "role in the crisis has been exaggerated, especially across the Atlantic."[22] The Declaration of Independence blames George III for many things in which he played a very small role. The acts that the colonists were rebelling against had been passed by Parliament, not the king.[23] King George III would have expected the colonists to contribute financially to the Empire. As a branch of the British Empire, colonists should contribute in order to reap the benefits. The King may have supported policies that were suggested in Parliament, but in the end he was not responsible for whether or not they were enacted.

Historian Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy writes, "If contemporaries exaggerated his role in the origins of the dispute, George III was nevertheless

---

[20]   Dickenson, 411. This work further examines the role of King George III in the acts that were proposed and passed by Parliament leading up to the American Revolution.

[21]   Dickenson, 412

[22]   Dickenson, 411.

[23]   Franklin B. Wickwire, *British Subministers and Colonial America 1763-1783*. Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press, 1966). Wickwire not only asserts that Parliament had a greater role than the King in the passage of acts leading to the revolution, but also discusses the role of subministers who influenced policies and policy makers in important ways but who are often overlooked.

crucially influential in prolonging the war, which became a personal crusade."[24] While King George III can be justified in rejecting the Olive Branch Petition, his actions in response to the petition also served to alienate some colonists. Declaring those in affiliation with the Continental Congress traitors and remaining determined to enforce the laws passed by Parliament may have increased resentment, and prevented the King from becoming an effective mediator in the crisis.[25]

"The Political Cartoon for the Year 1775" was created for Westminster Magazine and shows King George III and another British official riding in an open carriage pulled by two horses (see Appendix, Fig. 4).[26] The horses are labeled as Pride and Obstinacy.   They are heading directly for a pit, which represents the war with America. In the background a fire labeled America burns in the distance. The carriage rolls over top of two documents labeled constitution and Magna Charta.

The creator of this political cartoon shows King George III and the British Government causing greater problems for themselves and the Americas, because they are unwilling to negotiate. In the image, Britain is being hurdled into a pit, because of the pride and obstinacy of its leaders. This image was published in a British magazine during the same year that the American colonies declared independence. Just as "America in Flames" showed the actions of the government causing greater problems, so does the "Political Cartoon for the Year of 1775."

This cartoon again demonstrated that not all citizens in Britain agreed with the manner in which the government was dealing with the crisis in the Americas. King George III and Parliament were unwilling to compromise, and insisted on using harsher methods to regain control of the colonies. The severity of the methods used was tempered by public opinion, because some believed that an agreement could be made to reunite Britain and the colonies. These feelings prevented the government from acting with enough severity to conquer and regain control of the rebel colonies.

King George III continually defended Parliament's ability to tax the colonies on the basis that the British constitution gave it supremacy. However, the issue again arose that the British constitution is not one specific document, but rather a collection of all laws ever passed in British history. This allowed the constitution to be constantly evolving and changing to deal with current issues; however, it also allowed for different interpretations. The British

---

[24] O'Shaughnessy, 28.

[25] Kallich, 78-79. Reprinted from Peter Force, *American Archives, Fourth Series* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1837-46). vol. III: 240. Kallich provides a reprint of King George III's proclamation of rebellion, made on August 23, 1775.

[26] "Political Cartoon for the Year 1775," engraving, 1 May 1775 (Catalogue of prints and drawings in the British Museum).

interpretation of their rights differed from the American's interpretation of their rights as citizens of the Empire. Both sides of the conflict believed that they were defending the British constitution and traditions, and both sides became increasingly inflexible and unwilling to compromise.[27]

Another important British Leader during the American Revolution was First Minister Lord North. North was an unwilling minister. He continually sought to resign from office, but was prevented by King George III. North once stated, "…year after year I entreated to be allowed to resign, but I was not allowed, and was earnestly entreated to remain."[28] One of the reasons that North saw himself as unfit for the task of coming to an agreement with the Americans was that he had supported the policies of Parliament that led to the war. He had supported Parliament's right to tax the American colonists, just as King George III had. He had also supported the Townshend Duties. North believed that the American colonists would not want to negotiate with him, because they would view him as an enemy who had supported policies they so adamantly protested.[29]

Lord North took a more lenient approach when dealing with American Revolutionaries. Throughout the war, North held on to the hope than an agreement could be made between Britain and the colonies that would reunite them. Prior to the Declaration of Independence, North "believed that some of the rebel colonies might be persuaded to reconsider, because they were still fighting what they called a war for the redress of grievances and continued to deny that they sought independence."[30] The British press expressed support for North's efforts to make peace with the colonies, though they warned against giving in to too many of the colonies' wishes.[31] Lord North continued to hold onto the possibility of a peace settlement that would be satisfactory to both sides until late in the war. North was willing to make a peace settlement with the colonies as long as it did not result in their independence. The Carlisle Peace Commission was sent by Lord North to negotiate a peace settlement with the colonies in 1778.[32] The Commission failed however, when France joined the war on the side of the American colonies.

---

[27] Further support of British citizens defending their rights and the British constitution can be found in Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, 9; 28-29; 58.

[28] O' Shaughnessy, 35.

[29] O'Shaughnessy, 48-50.

[30] O'Shaughnessy, 59.

[31]   Solomon Lutnick, *The American Revolution and the British Press 1775-1783* (Colombia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1967), 50. Lutnick shows that support for North's peace efforts in 1775 are present in the British press.

[32] O'Shaughnessy, 61-63. This section goes into further detail on the Carlisle Peace Commission.

Lord North's hope of reconciling with the colonies was shared with others in Britain throughout the war. "The Balance of Power," is a political cartoon that was published in London in 1781 and is accompanied by a poem (see Appendix, Fig. 7).[33] The image shows Britannia on the left side of a set of scales, which are weighted down to the ground, stating "No one injures me with impunity." On the other side of the scales are a Frenchman, Spaniard, Dutchman, and an American, who sit suspended above the ground. Each of the figures is depicted with a speech bubble. The figure representing America is saying, "My ingratitude is justly punished." The poem accompanying the image reads:

> America, duped by treacherous train,
> Now finds she's a Tool both to France and to Spain,
> Yet all three united can't weigh down the scale,
> So the Dutchman jumps in with the hope to prevail.
> Yet Britain will boldly their efforts withstand,
> And bravely defy them by sea and by land.
> The Frenchman She'll Drub, and the Spaniard She'll Beat,
> While the Dutchman She'll Ruin by Seizing his Fleet.
> Th' Americans too will with Britons Unite,
> And each to the other be Mutual Delight.

The image displays the confidence of British citizens in the military might of their nation. Britannia is facing four opponents at once and is still standing strong and resolute. However, the phrases used in "The Balance of Power" are the most significant part of the work. The phrase stated by the figure representing America implies that the British believe Americas know that they will lose the war and that this defeat is due to their own mistakes and poor decisions. The last two lines of the poem are hopeful that Britain and America will unite once again. This hope appears as a strong force in the work, although it was created only two years before the American Revolution ended and the colonies gained their independence. For some British citizens, hope for reconciliation between the two remained strong late into the war.[34] This hope of reconciliation would have called for a military tactics that sought to reunite rather than conquer.

The desire for reconciliation can also be seen in another political cartoon of the time "Poor Old England Endeavoring to Reclaim his Wicked

---

[33] Wilkinson, R. "The Balance of Power," engraving, 17 January 1781 (American Antiquarian Society, Worchester, Massachusetts) BM 5827. Originally printed in London at no. 58 in Cornhill.

[34] Lutnick, 53 and 130-131. Lutnick explains, "The hope of reconciliation remained one of the major themes of the press, despite the fact that most Englishmen expected any peace overtures to be as fruitless as earlier attempts to avoid war."

American Children, and Therefore is England Maimed and Forced to go with a Staff" by M. Darly in 1777 (see Appendix, Fig. 6).[35] This image depicts an old man with a wooden leg, crutch, and whip attempting to maintain control of five unruly young men as they taunt and disrespect him. The old man representing Britain is placed on the right side of the page, separated from the five other figures by the Atlantic Ocean. The whip in the old man's hand, as well as the hooks in the noses of the five, symbolizes the force that Britain was attempting to use to control the colonies. This image shows that Britain was attempting to regain the colonies, as a parent attempting to regain control of misbehaving children. The unsuccessful attempts of the old man in the print speak to the public's opinion that government efforts to end the Rebellion were not working. "Poor Old England" also depicts a feeling that the colonies were acting inappropriately and a desire to reconcile with the colonies that was prevalent at the time.

Comparing the colonies to wayward children was a common theme in British media of the time. "The Parricide: A Sketch of Modern Patriotism" reflects this theme (see Appendix, Fig. 5).[36] In the image Britannia is being restrained by a crowd of men, as a Native American woman attacks her with a dagger and tomahawk. Among the crowd of men are Wilkes, Chatham, Grafton, and Charles Fox. A lion is being restrained in the lower right of the print. The image shows contempt for influential leaders that are in support of the American rebels, as they do nothing to avert the crisis. It also depicts American rebels' brutality and disregard for British ideals despite their close relationship, as the Native attempts to murder Britannia. The term "parricide" in the title refers to the murder of a parent. "The Parricide" depicts the majority opinion of the time that the Rebellion was unfavorable and unjust.

The idea of Britain as a parent also appears in contemporary poetry. In his poem "Ode for the New-Year, 1777," the poet laureate William Whitehead wrote, "And hear a parent's dear request, who longs to clasp you to her yielding breast."[37] While the colonies have strayed, they are still considered a part of the British Empire, represented by a wayward child, who is still considered part of the family. This and other poems written by Whitehead, express a desire to reunite with the colonies that was present at the time.

---

[35] M. Darly, *Poor Old England Endeavoring to Reclaim his Wicked American Children, and Therefore is England Maimed and forced to go with a Staff*, engraving, 1 April 1777 (American Antiquarian Society, Worchester, Massachusetts) BM5397.

[36] "The Parricide: A Sketch of Modern Patriotism," engraving, 1776 (American Antiquarian Society, Worchester, Massachusetts) BM 5334. Originally printed for the Westminster Magazine.

[37] Kallich, 98-99. William Whitehead's *Ode for the New-Year 1777*, originally printed for *The Annual Register*, p 196. Whitehead also made an appeal for peace in "Ode for his Majesty's Birth-Day" in June of 1775, which can be found on pages 43-44 of Kallich's work.

While the desire to regain the colonies was present, how to go about doing this was not generally agreed upon. Lord George Germain served under Lord North as colonial secretary to the American colonies from 1775-1782. Germain believe that the British should win the war and then negotiate terms with the Americans, rather than coming to an agreement before a decisive victory occurred.[38] This approach was more coercive, whereas Lord North's approach was conciliatory. Germain's plan of negotiating with the colonies as the victor of the war would allow Britain to have a greater influence on the outcome of events. As the clear winner, Britain could require the colonists to conform to the government's interpretation of the rights of citizens and reinforce Parliament's supremacy.

Another point to consider is the outlook of the British military leaders on the American colonies. Just as the majority of Parliament and many citizens in Britain viewed the rebellion as one led by a minority, so did some of the military leaders. General and Admiral Howe in particular, shared this view. General and Admiral Howe were sent together to battle in the Americas. Their goal was to put down the rebellion without causing long-term resentment to form.

The Howe brothers are said to have missed one of the best opportunities during the war to defeat the American military at Bunker Hill. A British soldier who was present at Bunker Hill wrote that the British navy could easily have trapped the Americans by moving into the Mystic River and cutting them off from the mainland. [39] Admiral Howe flailed to take advantage of this opportunity and the American army managed to escape.

O'Shaughnessy states that the Howes missed this and several other opportunities to win a decisive victory, because they recognized that the war was being fought against other British citizens and did not want to "alienate the majority of the population."[40] This attitude prevented the Howes from using truly destructive force to win the war, and resulted in prolonging the war, as they did not take advantages of opportunities which could have allowed them to gain a major victory and crush the colonial army. Again, the British failed to put down the revolution, because they believed that it was a minority rebellion and sought to bring the colonies back into the Empire.

---

[38]   O'Shaughnessy, 60.

[39]   Charles Francis Adams, "Contemporary Opinion on the Howes," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society 44*, (October 1910-June 1911): 94-120. This article includes a letter from a British soldier who was present at the Battle of Bunker Hill. The soldier describes how the Howes addressed the situation and how they should have addressed the situation if they had truly wanted to capture the American army.

[40]   O'Shaughnessy, 96-98. O'Shaughnessy describes several other occasions where the Howes had an opportunity to attack and possibly finish off the American army, but failed to take the proper course of action.

Public opinion was also an important factor in the war with the Americas and deserves further examination.   Historian Benjamin Labaree asserts that while public opinion in Britain was probably not the main motivation behind British policies toward the Americas during the revolution, policies made tended to reflect the majority opinion.[41]   There was some sympathy and support for the colonists in England: however, the colonists may have overestimated this support, just as the British had overestimated the support they would receive from loyalists.   Labaree states that, "Englishmen explained that while Americans had many friends in Great Britain, 'the number of their enemies is greatly superior.'"[42]

American media tended to print articles, and pamphlets which showed British support for the American Revolution.   However, private correspondence between those in Britain and those in America reveals a more negative outlook on the war.[43]   Even those who sympathized with the colonists did not necessarily agree with the methods through which they chose to convey their discontent, that they should be independent.

The English Radicals were one of the few groups most in support of the colonies.   According to historian Colin Bonwick, English Radicals fell into one of three categories; of these categories the Commonwealthmen were the most supportive of the Revolution.[44]   Commonwealthmen usually fell into the middle class.   They stayed connected with men of similar social station in the American colonies through personal correspondence, pamphlets, and other publications.   This group supported the American idea of liberty, on the basis that if the government encroached upon the liberties of colonists they would eventually encroach upon the liberties of those in Britain.[45]   However, commonwealthmen were not generally supportive of equality as a goal for the colonies.   This goes to show that even those who supported the colonists did not necessarily agree with all of their ideals.[46]

The importance of the American colonies to the Empire changed as time progressed.   In Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations,* he stated that "the expectation of a rupture with the colonies, accordingly, has struck the people

---

[41]   Labaree, 3.

[42]   Labaree, 6.

[43]   Labaree, 5-6; 99.

[44]   Colin Bonwick, *English Radicals and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill, 1977) xiv-xvi. The three groups of radicals listed by Bonwick are Benthamite, Painite, and Commonwealthmen.

[45]   Bonwick. xvi.

[46]   Jerome R. Reich, *British Friends of the American Revolution* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998). This work provides additional information on those in Britain that supported American Independence. and their reasons for doing so. Jeronme states that although there was some support for the colonies, this support had little effect on the British government (172).

of Great Britain with more terror than they ever felt for a Spanish Armada or French invasion."[47] This account was originally published in 1776, the same year that the colonies declared independence. One of the common reasons for fearing the loss of the Americas was that many believed if the American colonies became independent it would cause a domino effect, and Britain would lose colonial holdings in other areas.[48] There was some truth in this theory, as the American Revolution sparked rebellions in Ireland in 1798 as well as in other parts of the British Empire.

In Britain, the southern colonies were seen as the most important. Germain wrote to General Clinton that regaining the southern colonies was most crucial.[49] These colonies were the most beneficial to Britain due to the large plantations located there, which served to provide tobacco, cotton, indigo, and other raw materials to Britain. As other rebellions took place and other nations joined the war, maintaining the American colonies became less important, because they were viewed as less necessary to the Empire. Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, was one of the supporters for ending the war with the Americas and granting them independence on the basis of economics, producing several writings that urged this course of action.[50] It was crucial for Britain to maintain control of Ireland, because of its geographic location, which could provide a launching point for an invasion of Britain. Other colonies, such as those located in the Caribbean and India were crucial for trade. The expenses of the war also took a toll on Britain; as historian Solomon Lutnick explains, the government may have "had the political right" on its side, but "enforcing this right is not always expedient, especially if it is costly."[51] Towards the end of the war it became more important for the British to maintain these locations than to fight for the less beneficial American colonies.

The American Revolution was viewed by the British as a civil war, in which fellow Britons rose up against the British government. This rebellion

---

[47]   Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations,* ed. Jonathan B. Wight (Petersfield, NH: Harriman House, 2007) 391.

[48]   More support for this "domino theory" found in O'Shaughnessy, 29. and Bowen, 15.

[49]   Randolph G. Adams, 30.

[50]   Reich, 3-11. Reich provides information concerning the viewpoints and significance of Tucker.   Kallich, 88-89. Kallich provides an excerpt from: Josiah Tucker, *A Series of Answers to Certain Popular Objections against Separating from the Rebellious Colonies* (Gloucester: R. Raikes, 1776), 85. Kallich, 120-122. This is an excerpt from Josiah Tucker, *Four Letters on Important National Subjects* (Gloucester, R. Raikes, 1783), 7. These two documents written by Tucker help shed light on his opinions concerning the American colonies and the rebellion.

[51]   Lutnick, 86.   Lutnick shows that the press reflected the prevailing idea that other colonial holdings had become more important to the Empire than the American colonies, and a desire to end the costly war.

was caused by differing interpretations of what it meant to be British and the liberties that accompanied this status. While there was some support for the Revolutionaries present in Britain, the majority of government officials and the nation's citizens disapproved of the American Revolution, but they still believed the Revolutionaries were British citizens. They also believed that the conflict was caused by a minority of rebels, and were reluctant to take actions that would cause those who were loyal to the crown to resent British rule in the future. The general desire was for peace, although how to achieve this peace was not agreed upon. *The Gentlemen's Magazine* printed in 1777 that, "Amidst the hoarse thunder of war, the still voice of Reason cannot be heard. Reconciliation, indeed, seems to be the wish of all parties: but where is the party that points to the fair road that leads to accomplish it?"[52] The desire to reunite is reflected in several of the political cartoons of the era, as well as in the British press. This view of the war influenced the government's policies toward the colonies causing them to be less severe than they may have been if the conflict had been viewed as one with a foreign power.

These policies did not enable the military to gain a decisive victory over the colonies, prolonging the war. By the time the British realized that revolutionary ideals were wide spread, other conflicts had arisen in the Empire that needed to be addressed. Over time it became increasingly apparent that the American colonies were less crucial to the Empire than were other colonial holdings, such as India and the Caribbean. For this reason the British turned their attention toward maintaining these areas, rather than trying to regain the Americas. The British ultimately lost the Americas, because they did not recognize how wide spread the revolution was until late in the war, and there was a lack of common consensus on how to handle the revolution.

The American Revolution is significant in that it changed the way in which the British governed their colonial holdings in later years. Historian Maya Jasanoff describes that position in which, "Colonial subjects were henceforth to be embraced in a humanitarian, ostensibly inclusive empire but subordinated to metropolitan Britons."[53] The British would no longer make the mistake of assuming the majority of its colonists were loyal to Britain; future rebellions that occurred within the Empire were handled by the British government with greater severity.

---

[52] Lutnick, 121 -123.

[53] Jasanoff, 210.

Appendix

Fig. 1. A New Method of Macarony Making, as Practiced at Boston in North America. Printed for Carrington Bowles. No. 69 in St. Paul's Church Yard, London, 1774, (23x14.5cm).
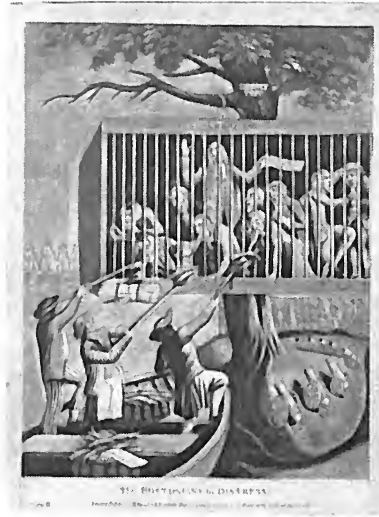

Fig. 2. The Bostonians in Distress. Printed for R. Sayer & J. Bennett, Map & Printsellers, No. 53 Fleet Street, London. 19 Nov 1774, (37 x 28 cm).

Fig. 4. Political Cartoon for the Year 1775. Published in *Westminster Magazine*, v. 3 (1775 May 1), p209. Catalogue of prints and drawings in the British Museum. Division I, political and personal satires, v. 5, no. 5288.
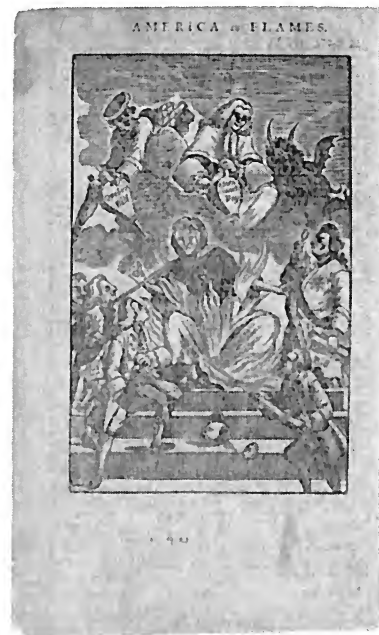
Fig. 3. America in Flames. Published for the *Town and Country Magazine*, 1775 (21x12cm).

Fig. 5. "The Parricide: A sketch of Modern Patriotism." Engraved for the *Westminster Magazine*, 1776, (10.5 x 16 cm).
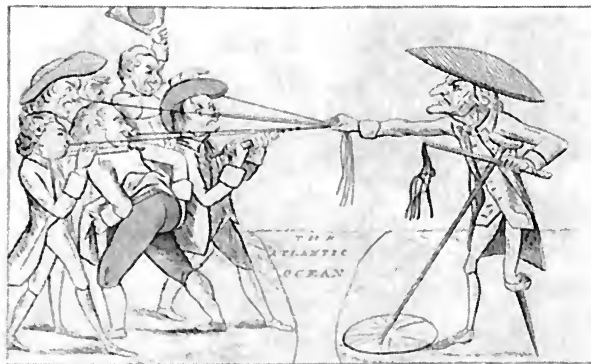
Fig. 6. "Poor Old England Endeavoring to Reclaim his Wicked American Children, and Therefore is England Maimed and Forced to go with a Staff." Shakespeare. Published April 1, 1777 by M Darly 39 Strand, (28 x 44 cm).

Fig. 7. "The Balance of Power." by R Wilkinson, at No. 58 in Cornhill, 17 January 1781, (25x35cm).

Bibliography

Primary Sources

"America in Flames," woodcut, 1775 (American Antiquarian Society, Worchester Massachusetts) BM 5282.

"A New Method of Macarony Making, as Practiced at Boston in North America," engraving, 1774 (American Antiquarian Society, Worchester, Massachusetts) BM 5232.

Kallich, Martin, and Andrew MacLeish, eds. *The American Revolution through British Eyes.* New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1962.

"Political Cartoon for the Year 1775," engraving, 1 May 1775 (Catalogue of prints and drawings in the British Museum).

"Poor Old England Endeavoring to Reclaim her Wicked American Children, and Therefore is England Maimed and Forced to go with a Staff." Engraving, 1 April 1777 (American Antiquarian Society, Worchester, Massachusetts) BM 5397.

Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* Edited by Jonathan B. Wight. Petersfield, NH: Harriman House, 2007.

"The Bostonians in Distress," engraving, 19 November 1774 (American Antiquarian Society, Worchester, Massachusetts) BM 5241.

"The Parricide: A sketch of Modern Patriotism." 1776 (American Antiquarian Society, Worchester, Massachusetts) BM 5334.

Wilkinson, R. "The Balance of Power," engraving, 17 January 1781 (American Antiquarian Society, Worchester, Massachusetts) BM 5827.

Secondary Sources

Adams, Charles Francis. "Contemporary Opinion on the Howes." *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 44, (October 1910-June 1911): 94-120.

Adams, Randolph G. "A View of Cornwallis' Surrender at Yorktown." *The American Historical Review* 37, no. 1 (1931): 25-49.

Berson, Michael J. *Harcourt Horizons: United States History, Canada, Mexico, & Central America.* Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Inc., 2003.

Black, Jeremy. *George III: America's Last King.* New Haven, CT: *Yale University Press,* 2006.

--------. "Could the British Have Won the American War of Independence?" *Society for Army Historical Research* 74, no. 299 (1996): 145–154.

Bowen, H. V. "British Conceptions of Global Empire, 1756-83." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 26, no. 3 (1998): 1–27.

Bonwick, Colin. *English Radicals and the American Revolution.* Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill, 1977.

Bradley, James E. *Popular Politics and the American Revolution in England.* Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986.

Cash, Arthur H. *John Wilkes: The Scandalous Father of Civil Liberty.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Christie, I.R. *Crisis of Empire: Great Britain and the American Colonies 1774-1783.* New York: Norton, 1966.

Dickinson, H.T. "George III and Parliament." *Parliamentary History* 30, no. 3 (October 2011): 395–413.

Donoughue, Bernard. *British Politics and the American Revolution: The Path to War 1773-75.* London: Macmillan, 1964.

Flavell, Julie M. "Lord North's Conciliatory Proposal and the Patriots in London." *The English Historical Review* 107, no. 423 (1992): 302-323.

Guttridge, George H. "Lord George Germain in Office, 1775-1782." *The American Historical Review* 33, no. 1 (1927): 23-43.

Hibbert, Christopher. *Redcoats and Rebels: The American Revolution Through British Eyes.* New York: Norton, 1990.

Jasanoff, Maya. "The Other Side of Revolution: Loyalists in the British Empire." *William and Mary Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (April 2008): 205-232.

Labaree, Benjamin W. "The Idea of American Independence: The British View, 1774-1776." *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 82 (1974): 3-20.

Lutnick, Solomon. *The American Revolution and the British Press 1775-1783.* Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1967.

Mackesy, Piers. *The War for America 1775-1783.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964.

McCurry, Allan J. "The North Government and the Outbreak of the American Revolution." *Huntington Library Quarterly 34, no. 2* (1971): 141-157.

O'Shaughnessy, Andrew Jackson. *The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution and the Fate of the Empire.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013.

Reich, Jerome R. *British Friends of the American Revolution.* Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998.

Reid, David S. "An Analysis of British Parliamentary Opinion on American Affairs at the Close of the War of Independence." *The Journal of Modern History* 18, no. 3 (1946): 202-221.

"Timeline of the Revolutionary War." US History.org. accessed November 12, 2013.

Wickwire, Franklin B. *British Subministers and Colonial America 1763-1783.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966.

Van Alstyne, Richard W. "Great Britain, the War for Independence, and the 'Gathering Storm' in Europe, 1775-1778." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (August 1964): 311-346.

York, Neil. "George III, Tyrant: The Crisis as Critic of Empire, 1775–1776." *History* 94, no. 316 (October 2009): 434–460.

GARDNER-WEBB
UNIVERSITY

2 370000 162854